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ABSTRACT

The seventh annual Lincoln Era Essay Contest's theme was "Lincoln and the Elections of 1860 and 1864." The contest was open to students in grades 6 through 12 throughout the state of Indiana. This booklet includes all the winning essays. The junior high/middle school essays include: "Abraham Lincoln Journals for the 1860 and 1864 Elections" (C. Berman); "The Hearts of the Delegates Are with Us" (M. Brady); "Lincoln: His Later Years" (T. L. Hoyte); "President Lincoln and the 1860 and 1864 Elections" (J. Miller); "President Lincoln and the 1860 and 1864 Elections" (J. Myers); "The Union is Perpetual" (L. K. Rudenko); "The Election of the Leader" (K. Ruse); "The Presidential Election of 1860 in Indiana" (L. Weinstein); and "President Lincoln and the 1860 and 1864 Elections" (S. Westlund). The senior high essays include: "Lincoln and the Election of 1860" (J. Kennedy); "Abraham Lincoln and the Election of 1860" (J. A. Maude); "Lincoln and the 1860 Election" (J. S. Nelson); "Abraham Lincoln: Westerner To President" (J. A. Rechtin); and "Lincoln's Road to the Presidency: 1858 To 1860" (E. Smietana). (LBG)

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LINCOLN ERA ESSAY CONTEST

SEVENTH ANNUAL WINNERS - 1988

ESSAY THEME: LINCOLN AND THE ELECTIONS OF 1860 AND 1864

William Cagle

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Lilly Library

Indiana University

Bloomington, Indiana

INDIANA UNIVERSITY, BLOOMINGTON

For more information on the Lincoln Essay Contest, contact Evelyn R. Holt, Social Studies Development Center, 2805 East Tenth Street, Room 110, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 47405.

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INTRODUCTION

The Lincoln Era Contest, sponsored by an endowment from the estate of Frank L. Jones, was established to promote interest in and understanding of Abraham Lincoln and his time among students throughout Indiana.

Frank L. Jones' enthusiasm for Lincoln extended beyond the endowment of the Lincoln Era Contest. In 1942, Mr. Jones, along with the Ball Brothers Foundation of Muncie and the late Will Irwin of Columbus, made possible the purchase by Indiana University of the important collection of Abraham Lincoln materials which had been assembled by Joseph B. Oakleaf of Moline, Illinois. This collection, numbering approximately 8,000 books and pamphlets as well as manuscripts, photographs, caricatures, and other illustrations of Lincoln and his circle, came to the University in 1942 and now is housed in the Lilly Library.

Frank L. Jones made the Indiana University Foundation the ultimate heir of his estate, securing first a lifetime interest in its income for his daughter. It was Mr. Jones' wish that the earnings of his bequest provide funds for the University to add to its Lincoln holdings and sponsor this annual essay contest, and it is to honor this wish that Indiana University established the Lincoln Era Essay Contest. Since 1982, the first year of the contest, students from sixth to twelfth grades in many Indiana cities and towns have submitted essays in competition for prizes of up to $100.00 each. Indiana University takes pride in presenting in this volume the work of the successful contestants for 1988.

William R. Cagle
Lilly Librarian
Indiana University, Bloomington

ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S JOURNALS FROM THE 1860 AND 1864 ELECTIONS

by

Caroline Berman

Caroline Berman was a student at Central Middle School in Columbus, Indiana, when she submitted this winning paper. Her teacher was Mr. Tom King.

During a recent renovation of the basement of the White House in Washington, D.C., a new and unknown journal of Abraham Lincoln, the 16th President, was found. This journal was found behind some wallboards where it had lain since the end of 1864, and seemed primarily to contain Lincoln's observations during and immediately after the election campaigns of 1860 and 1864. Some selections from this just-discovered journal follow.

May 19, 1860

I received the committee from the Chicago convention today, and they informed me that I am their nominee for the presidency. I will carefully examine the resolutions of the convention and the platform, and then respond to the chairman, though I have no doubt that it will be satisfactory. I was wrong in my reasoning with Sam Galloway, however, for it was my opinion that because I am a new name I did not have the favor of many politicians, but now I say I must have.

May 21, 1860

Joshua Giddings and I had lunch at the Wayside Inn today. I will have to take Mary there when I have a chance because it was extremely pleasant. He and I had a long conversation about my

nomination, and we agreed that I must put forth a great effort so as to maintain my freedom against bad influences. If I fail, it is in my strength, but not in my wanting of the purpose.

June 4, 1860

In preparation for my meeting tomorrow with Lyman Trumbull, I have drawn up a rough concept that I will use. I plan to discuss the act of making commitments with him. The strategy I will use is the act of Peter denying his Lord by making an oath after he said that he would not make any other oaths. I do not plan to bind myself not to make any commitments, though I do not think I will need to make any.

June 11, 1860

Another beautiful day.

August 14, 1860

Mr. Cheney today requested for the third time that I voice some of my opinions about the Fugitive Slave Act. Again, I told him that it would be imprudent and contrary to expectations of my friends to say anything more about doctrinal points. I also told Mr. Cheney that my published speeches contain all the information that I will agree to give willingly. Justice and fairness to all is the utmost I have said or will say on the subject. I also discussed this matter with James Harvey in connection with our associates in New York who are becoming uneasy about the election.

September 1, 1860

Planning for my upcoming campaign takes the majority of my time this summer, and I do regret that I haven't had much time to entertain my wife Mary and her guests when she arranges dinner parties or tea parties. Mary has given me so much moral support these past weeks; I do not for the life of me know what I would have done without her.

September 22, 1860

So many people are pressuring me to give my opinions on this matter or that matter. Yesterday I received a letter from Mr. G. Yoke Tams asking about my favor of the tariff and protection to American industry. I replied to Mr. Tams today in a letter stating that I agreed with the platform of convention that nominated me; they have stated their position on this matter and I fully agree with it. I also commented that if I were publicly to shift any of those feelings or beliefs, the convention could and quite possibly would displace me from the candidacy. I assumed that Mr. Tams would not wish me to disclose any information to him that must be kept secret from others.

October 23, 1960

I received a letter in the post today from William Speer inviting me to lunch at the Pilgrim Tavern to discuss some ideas that he had concerning my campaign, specifically the slavery issue. He suggested that I write a pamphlet stating that I have no

intention to interfere with the slaves in the states. I told him as politely as I could that, in my judgment, it would be of no real use to me. I informed him that I had already done this many times, both by mouth and hand, but people who have heard me speak would not heed to a new pamphlet or speech.

November 5, 1860

I arrived in Springfield at half past five this afternoon, and immediately set to finishing my speeches, acceptance and regret, whichever maybe deemed appropriate when the time comes. I am hoping that Ben Franklin's saying, "Early to bed, early to rise, makes a man healthy, wealthy, and wise," is true in this case. Saying or not, I retired to my bedroom early so I could get a good night's rest to be prepared for tomorrow.

November 6, 1860

It is with happiness and relief that I record the results of my victory in the presidential polls today. I have been trusted with a great responsibility, and I intend to fulfill the expectations of my supporters to the very best of my ability. I am not saying that the people did the wisest thing that they could have, indeed I doubt that they did. However, I feel great joy that this trust was placed upon me, a newcomer to the political field, and I deeply appreciate the respect of my fellow countrymen.

November 19, 1860

Parties, celebrations, rejoicing seems to be my whole life these

past few weeks. I am not saying that I do not appreciate the support and gladness of my friends and family, but there is work to be done and preparations to be made for my tour on the way to the White House. The final stages of my "tour" will be the raising of the flag at Independence Hall on February the twenty-second, and then I will arrive in Washington the next day, February twenty-third, to assume the presidency of the United States of America. The date of my inauguration will be March fourth, 1861.

December 1, 1860

Mary and I have begun to plan for our Christmas party that we will be having for our family and our close friends. We will be having this party at our house here. The children will, of course, hang their stockings by the fireplace for St. Nicholas to come and fill. For dinner we will be having our traditional roast Christmas goose.

December 17, 1860

Seven inches of snow fell from the sky last night while the residents of Springfield were sleeping. This morning many children were outside racing on their sleds and playing in the snow. Mary is meeting in her room today with her dressmaker with the intention of having a new dress made for the Christmas party we are hosting. I myself retired to my study early to sit in front of the fire and catch up on my reading, as I haven't had

much free time since the election. All is going well, but I am dreading the time when I must start packing up my possessions for the trip to Washington, where I will assume the presidency.

February 9, 1861

I have finished preparing the farewell speech that I will deliver to my friends and family here in Springfield. I will present this speech in the town square on the eleventh day of February. My cupboards and closets are bare; we have left out only enough things to last until we leave to go to Washington. I will spend the eleventh and twelfth in Indianapolis, Indiana. I will then go to Pittsburgh, Cleveland, New York, New Jersey, Philadelphia, and finally Washington. My entire "tour" will last approximately two weeks. Mary and the children will be with me throughout all of my travels. I am very sorrowful to have to leave all of our wonderful friends here, but it is most definitely for a great cause.

February 13, 1861

I regret that if all of my days on this tour go as the past few have, I will not have much time to document my experiences in this journal. The past few days have been filled with lunches and dinners with officials of the government, speeches, revising and rewriting speeches, and extreme confusion. The children were exhausted at the end of the day, and they did not have half the things to do that I did. The first speeches I presented were in Indianapolis, which I perceived to be a very nice town. The only

thing lacking is that they need some kind of monument to mark the center of town.

February 25, 1861

I finally reached my destination. We arrived here, in Washington, yesterday, and I immediately requested that we be shown to the White House to freshen ourselves up before appearing in public. I must cut this short because the press is knocking at my door and I must go and eat dinner with the children and Mary.

****

June 8, 1864

Today it was confirmed that I have been re-nominated for the presidency. One of my opponents is Fremont, who was nominated by a few Republicans who are against me. The committee from the convention came here to the White House and met with me to discuss the few changes in the platform. We had tea in the lounge and then had our discussion. I must leave now, for Mary is calling me to come and greet the guests that she invited to a party to celebrate my re-nomination.

July 3, 1864

Mary and I are having a large party to celebrate Independence Day. We will come out on the lawn after I give a speech. Because of the shortage of gunpowder, we will not be having a huge showing of fireworks, but we will have a bonfire and streamers besides the usual speeches, games, and food prepared

outside. For this party, Mary has had a new dress made, which I think is very unnecessary.

July 27, 1864

Tad was sent home from his school on account of the fact that he has caught the flu. I regret to say that I do not feel quite chipper today, and I hope that I am not coming down with it also. Mary had to leave her dressmaker's shop earlier than expected to take care of Tad, so she was a bit cross all day. I had lunch with John Williams, an old friend from Springfield, who was passing through on his way to Albany.

August 5, 1864

Having just recovered from a bout with the flu, I met with members of my staff for most of the day. All of these meetings were for the sole purpose of catching me up on all the important issues from the time when I was sick. Because I have been out of the public eye for so long, the press seems to want double my time that is usually allowed. I am sure, however, that the newspapers in this country can survive without knowing every one of my actions during the time that I was not in the office.

August 17, 1864

I am under the opinion that I can not now also run the political machine as I have too much on my hands already. The election is now the people's business - it is in their hands. If they turn their back to me now, and end up with an unsuitable person in the presidency, then they will have to deal with it. One can't undo what's done.

August 22, 1864

Today I spoke to the 166th Ohio Regiment praising them for their brilliant fighting and willingness to serve their country. I told the men that we should perpetuate for our children's children the glorious and free government that we are so fortunate as to have today in this country. I spent my afternoon with my campaign secretary discussing slogans, posters and speeches for my upcoming campaign. There is a great difference between campaigning as a newcomer and as an incumbent nominee. I have a much greater sense of security than I did in 1860 in knowing what to do and not to do.

September 12, 1864

I started a letter today to Mr. Isaac Schermerhorn, but I seem to have misplaced it. I wrote to him in response to a letter he sent to me asking for some opinions about the war. I told him that the sole cause of the war was not the preservation of the Union, but the destruction of it. I also told him that a cessation of hostilities is the end of a struggle and that the rebels would be in possession of all that they had wanted if the war were to end now.

October 22, 1864

Mr. W. B. Campbell today told me that I ought to pay closer attention to the way campaigns are being run, and that I should do something to keep them under control. I replied to him saying that under the Constitution and other laws the President is

charged with no duty in the conduct of an election in any state. I told him that with the exception of preventing violence, I would not interfere with the conduct of any presidential campaign.

October 27, 1864

I had a request today by a Mr. Thomas Swan to ask voters in Maryland to vote. I wrote down that I wished all qualified voters in Maryland and elsewhere to have the undisturbed privilege of voting in the election and that my authority and name cannot be properly used to the contrary.

November 7, 1864

I am not saying that I am superstitious, but I did do everything the same tonight as I did four years ago to bring me some good luck perhaps. I escaped from the clutches of my family tonight by saying that I must do some final retouching on my speeches, but I really just wanted to have a quiet evening so as to be rested up for tomorrow. I must stop writing now and go to sleep; I have a big and, I hope, successful day coming.

November 8, 1864

Throwing all formality aside-----

I WON!!!!

I did use the speech that I wanted very dearly to use after all, and it was received with great applause. I am grateful to God that the people of the United States have entrusted me with this duty, and, as I said four years ago, I will put forth my greatest effort to give the people a presidency worthy of their trust.

During this whole election, my trust in the stability of the nation has been greatly renewed. I say this for the reason that it must take a very competent government to hold an election during the midst of a major civil war. Any nation that could succeed in such an endeavor is definitely ready to grow and prosper in harmony and peace.

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"THE HEARTS OF THE DELEGATES ARE WITH US"
An Insiders's View of Lincoln's 1860 Presidential Campaign

by

Molly Brady

Molly Brady was a student at St. Thomas Aquinas School in Indianapolis, Indiana, when she submitted this winning paper. Her teacher was Mrs. Cathy Chapman.

This paper is written from the view point of a reporter interviewing Judge David Davis a few weeks after the 1860 Presidential Election. These are not the reporter's or Davis's real words, but the ideas presented are what Davis knew and believed in.

"How, exactly, were you connected with Lincoln's campaign?" I inquired.

Judge Davis began, "I was his campaign manager for the Republican nomination, and helped with his 1860 presidential campaign."

I then asked, "Who were Lincoln's major opponents in the race for the Republican nomination?"

"Simon Cameron, John McLean, Edward Bates, Salmon Chase, and William Seward would possibly win because Lincoln was a newcomer. But, the day before the election the feelings had turned. I telegraphed Lincoln, 'We are quiet but moving heaven and earth. Nothing will beat us but old fogy politicians. The hearts of the delegates are with us.' The next day the balloting

was held. The votes began to sway in Lincoln's direction and by the fourth ballot, he held more than two-hundred thirty-three votes. This was enough to win the nomination," Davis replied.

"It has been rumored that there were a lot of secret dealings going on in your campaign," I stated. "Is this true?"

"Lincoln sent me a telegram stating that I should make absolutely no deals at all. However, Lincoln wasn't there, so I disobeyed him. I, instead, made a deal with Simon Cameron's agents. I got Lincoln the Pennsylvania votes in exchange for giving Cameron a Cabinet post," Davis responded.

"Judge Davis, who, do you think, pressured Mr. Lincoln the most in the presidential election?" I inquired.

Davis answered, "Why Stephen Douglas, of course! I'm sorry that his campaign took so much out of him."

"Weren't there some other debates between Lincoln and Douglas?" I asked.

"There was the race for a seat in Congress in 1858. This was very helpful in exposing Lincoln and his views to the entire nation. These seven face-to-face debates with Douglas made both famous nationwide. This is where Douglas made known his views on popular sovereignty. Lincoln greatly opposed this idea of letting each state or territory vote to decide the question of slavery in their area."

"Do you think that this had any effect on Douglas's presidential race?" I inquired.

Judge Davis commented, "From this the North thought that he was too pro-slavery, but the South thought just the opposite. They thought that he was too anti-slavery and that he was a traitor. This was because the Southern Democrats didn't believe in popular sovereignty."

"Who were the other candidates that Lincoln ran against in the race for president?" I wondered.

"Let's see," said Davis, "there were also two others. The Southerners chose John Breckinridge of Kentucky. Breckinridge favored secession and also slavery in any new territory. Then, there was John Bell of Tennessee. He came from the Constitutional Union Party. This was made of Whigs and Know-Nothings. They just were intent on obeying the Constitution and preserving the Union. They totally ignored the question of slavery."

"Although Douglas came in second in the popular vote, he came in last in the Electoral College vote. Why is this, Judge Davis?" I asked.

"Electoral votes go by state and Douglas only carried Missouri and part of New Jersey, giving him twelve votes. The rest of his supporters were too spread out to get enough power to put a Douglas supporter in the Electoral College." he responded.

"Then who was closest in the Electoral College vote?" I questioned.

"If I recall correctly," Judge Davis began, "John Breckinridge received seventy-two votes. He carried the deep or

lower, South, and Delaware and Maryland. John Bell, on the other hand, received thirty-nine votes total. Electoral College representatives from Tennessee, Kentucky, and Virginia voted for him."

"So, did just the North vote in Lincoln's favor?" I asked.

Judge Davis responded, "No, the people from California and Oregon also chose him as their presidential candidate."

"What was the image of Lincoln that you were trying to present in the campaigns?" I inquired.

"We were trying to let people know that Abraham Lincoln was one of them and that he knew and had dealt with many of their problems. His image as "Honest Abe" is a true image of Lincoln that would also appeal to the public. We tried to make voters envision him as a man from the prairies, where he was safe from corruption. Therefore, he knew none of the dirty political tricks and was an untainted, honest candidate." Davis responded.

"Who were your main supporters in the campaign?" I questioned.

Davis answered, "People in the North that were against slavery and some of the border states' residents voted for Lincoln. Many of his loyal supporters, called "Wide Awakes", paraded and campaigned for Lincoln. Most of these people were just common citizens, not high officials. He stayed in Springfield during the campaign."

"Yet Douglas campaigned throughout the South. Why was

this, Judge Davis?" I inquired.

"Douglas did this because he felt that this was his only chance in winning the Presidency. However, none of the other candidates had ever done this before. As in Lincoln's case, candidates stayed at their home and let their supporters campaign for them. Lincoln did make a few speeches during the months before the election," answered Davis.

"What were Lincoln's views that you tried most to enforce, or did you let him take care of that aspect? "I asked.

Judge Davis remarked, "I basically let him write his own speeches and use his own ideas. We did try to let all the voters know his stand on slavery, preservation of the Union, and his retorts to the Southerner's accusations."

"What was his stand on these issues?" I questioned Mr. Davis.

He then replied, "Mr. Lincoln detested slavery in every way. He would compromise on any other issues, except the extension of slavery into any new territories. He didn't want to harm the Southerners or destroy their way of life. He tried to calm their fears by compromising on other bills." "What did Lincoln feel about the preservation of the Union?" I inquired.

"This was Lincoln's main concern," remarked Judge Davis, "and he worried excessively over it during the campaign. He urged no one to bend towards the Southern leaders' wishes, but instead to do their duty to the fullest. He tried to talk sensibly to the Southern leaders, whom he regarded as friends, in

hopes that they wouldn't secede".

I then asked, "Lincoln responded to what accusations?"

"First, there was the claim that the Republican Party was sectional. Lincoln felt that the party was only sectional if the Southerners labeled it so. Then, there was the claim that the Republican Party supported John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry..." Judge Davis began.

"Excuse me, Judge Davis," I interrupted, "but could you explain why John Brown's raid was so important?"

"Certainly," he replied. "The Southerners thought that the Republican Party encouraged slaves in the South to revolt. The capture of an artillery in Harper's Ferry, Virginia, by a Northern abolitionist, was the Southern leaders perfect chance to accuse the Republican Party of encouraging this rebellion. John Brown had hoped that the slaves would help him start a military takeover in Virginia. However, his plan failed, he was captured, and was hung. Lincoln wanted the Southern citizens to know that he didn't approve of this raid, but didn't condemn it, either.

"What, in your opinion, helped Lincoln win the election most?" I questioned the judge.

He answered, "There are two things that stand out most in my mind. The first is that the Democratic Party was divided. Because this was a gigantic split, both of the Democratic candidates and the Constitutional Union's candidate had little chance of winning the national election. All we really had to do

was win the Republican nomination, and our chances of being the next President of the United States were almost one hundred percent."

"And the second factor was what?" I asked.

"The fact that Lincoln spoke at the Cooper's Institute in New York City helped his campaign. Many high ranking officials listened to him speak and were very impressed. Most had never heard of Lincoln before and were stirred by his moving speech. In fact, I have part of it here now. First, he told them that he was for peace and preservation of the nation. Oh, and here's a good quote. 'Let us have faith that right makes might and in that faith let us, to the end, dare to do our duty as we understand it.' Yes, Lincoln is a very powerful speaker and that factor helped him."

As I closed the interview, I felt that I had a good sense of who Lincoln really was. These qualities of honesty, justice, and fairness really did help Lincoln win the election. I only hope that he can hold the Union together, and at the same time, abolish slavery forever.

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LINCOLN - HIS LATER YEARS

Tracy L. Hoyte was a student at Central Middle School in Columbus, Indiana when this winning paper was submitted. Tracy's teacher was Mr. Green.

Abraham Lincoln was a great hero of American history. During his lifetime he was respected and loved, as well as unpopular and despised. The way we live today is affected by some of his most far-reaching decisions, not only relating to the government in general, but to individuals as well.

After several years dealing with politics, Lincoln, a Republican from Illinois, had decided to enter the presidential race. In the 1860 elections, he stressed the rights of free labor, peace, and the "moral, political, and social wrong" of slavery. He did not want slavery at all and certainly did not want it to spread. His strategy in the campaign was to "assume the whole movement to be antislavery". His ideas attracted many and offended few. He wanted moderate and carefully adjusted tariffs, homesteads for yeomen, no immigration restrictions, attacks on proposals to reopen the slave trade and on popular sovereignty, the admission of Kansas as a free state, and a denunciation of Democratic corruption and extravagance.

His thoughtful and moderate views on the main issues of the times captivated many delegates. He stayed out of party arguments, made no compromising statements, and had no public record to defend. He presented himself as the people's choice, one who could appeal to and understand the public. For all this, he earned the names of "Honest Abe," "Old Abe," "the rail candidate," and the "railsplitter."

By this time, Lincoln had a national network of friends that made him well-known throughout the country. To help with his campaign and to make his name more famous, he wrote letters and saw visitors, reporters and photographers, and painters. He also gave speeches throughout New England, including one very important speech in New York City at Cooper Union. There he received the support of powerful and influential Republicans all over the East.

However, Lincoln did not work on his campaign all by himself. Abraham had an excellent team of convention managers. They packed the gallery in Chicago with loud men assigned the task of shouting for Lincoln and made a series of shrewd deals with the leaders of state delegations to win additional votes. When Lincoln heard about these deals, he telegraphed a message that said, "I authorize no bargains and will be bound by none." In reply to Abraham's message, Judge David Davis, his campaign manager, said, "Lincoln ain't here and don't know what we have to meet." The bargaining continued to go on, though.

For the primary, Lincoln's main opponent was William H. Seward. Seward was in the first rank of Republican contenders. When the voting began, on the first ballot, Seward had 173 1/2 and Lincoln had 102 votes. On the second ballot, Lincoln drew shoulder to shoulder with Seward who had 184 1/2 to Lincoln's 181 votes. On the third ballot, Seward had 180 and Lincoln had 231 1/2. That made Lincoln 1 1/2 votes shy of victory. To make the nomination unanimous, one state had to yield that many votes. As it turned out, Ohio and New York gave their votes to Lincoln and assured his victory. That let Lincoln become nominated on the third ballot. Even though Seward was the popular candidate, Lincoln won and became the Republican candidate for President of the United States.

In the elections of 1860 there were four main candidates for the presidency: Abraham Lincoln-Republican, Stephen A. Douglas-Democrat, John C. Breckinridge-Democrat, and John Bell-Constitutional Union. It was unheard of in those days for a candidate to campaign for himself during the presidential elections. Instead it was done by a member of the party who stumped the country in his behalf. That is why Lincoln stayed in Springfield, Illinois, keeping close watch on events, and staying cool and calm. Douglas, however, felt that he was the only candidate who could beat Lincoln and save the Union, so he ignored the tradition and set out on a campaign to win the free states. The North considered Douglas a little pro-slavery so he went to the South, but they thought him too antislavery. John Bell of

Tennessee, on the other hand, tried to avoid the slavery issue.

During the beginning of the election, Douglas was ahead of Lincoln, but before the roll could be called again, delegates began to switch their votes. When the votes were counted, Lincoln had only 1,866,000. That was almost one million fewer than the combined total of his three opponents, but he swept the North and West, which gave him 180 electoral votes. The Republicans succeeded largely because of the split in the Democratic Party. The Northern Democrats voted for Douglas, while the Southern Democrats voted for Breckinridge. Bell received votes from all over the nation, but not enough to win the election. Lincoln was therefore President of the United States and Hannibal Hamlin of Maine was the Vice-President.

Right after the election, the Southern states started moving toward secession. They seemed determined to break up the Union. Lincoln was just as inclined to save it.

By the time of the next presidential election in 1864, the North was in the depths of gloom, war-weariness, and defeatism from the Civil War. Since the Union was losing battle after battle, Lincoln was very doubtful about being reelected for a second term. The future looked dark and grim. No president since Andrew Jackson had served more than four years, and the single term had become almost traditional. In the North it was difficult to know just what people thought of him because lies were told and printed and all kinds of stories were circulated.

Some people thought he was weak; some people called him evil; and still others spoke as if he were a saint. If a change of administration would take place, it would be "virtually voting him failure".

Lincoln did not believe in threats or wish for revenge though. He just quietly made plans for cooperating with his successor in a last-ditch effort to save the Union. Lincoln became more unpopular each day and even his own Republicans wanted a different candidate for the presidency.

Since Republicans were now divided over the candidacy of Lincoln, a small party of Republican radical die-hards gathered in Cleveland, Ohio to nominate John C. Fremont for President, and Democrats made General George B. McClellan their candidate.

Just when Lincoln thought the situation seemed darkest, the Union began winning victories. General William Tecumseh Sherman's victories for the Union staggered not only the Confederacy but also the anti-Lincoln forces in the North. Since the Union started winning battles, and Abraham Lincoln became a little more popular with each victory, Fremont decided to withdraw from the race. So in the 1864 elections there were two candidates: Abraham Lincoln-Republican and George B. McClellan-Democrat.

Lincoln conducted a very orderly campaign, but refused to change his Cabinet members to promote his election. He favored the tariff, national banking system, federal support to the railroads, and federal appropriations for internal improvements.

His plans for reconstruction in the South offered general amnesty to Southern officers and soldiers if they surrendered. He offered full pardon to those who would take an oath to the Constitution and would swear to support the Emancipation Proclamation and all congressional acts that dealt with slavery. By Lincoln having good campaign promises and ideas, things started going his way. In October, state elections in Ohio, Indiana, and Pennsylvania backed the Republicans and gave a strong indication how the national election would turn out.

During the November election, Lincoln sat and waited in the telegraph office for the first returns. Toward midnight the trend was clear: except for Kentucky, Delaware and New Jersey, Lincoln had carried the election. Victory for the Presidency soon became final. Abraham Lincoln was easily reelected President with 212 electoral votes to McClellan's 21. This election showed how strong and how sound the United States really was.

Lincoln was President again with Andrew Johnson becoming Vice-President. Even though Lincoln was reelected for another four years, he was unable to finish his term. On April 14, 1865, John Wilkes Booth shot Lincoln with a pistol, behind Lincoln's left ear, while the President was enjoying a play at Ford's Theatre entitled "Our American Cousin". Since the one ounce ball of lead had gone through his brain and had lodged behind his right eye, Lincoln went into a coma. He was taken across the

street by six soldiers to the boarding house of William Peterson. He never awakened from the coma and died at 7:22 A.M., April 15, 1865, on a bed in a small downstairs bedroom of the Peterson House. A few days after his death, a funeral train covered with black cloth moved slowly out of Washington D.C., to travel through cities and villages of other states. In one of the railroad cars lay the body of Abraham Lincoln. People everywhere wept, mourned, and paid tribute to a great President.

From the first, Lincoln's main aim was to preserve the Union. That aim dictated his policy, both militarily and politically. Even though Lincoln has been dead nearly 123 years, he is still one of our most important Presidents. We owe him a debt of gratitude for uniting the nation, and his beliefs about the social wrong of slavery laid the foundation for the Thirteenth Amendment.

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PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND THE 1860 AND 1864 ELECTIONS

by

Jennifer Miller

Jennifer Miller was a student at Carrol Junior High in Flora, Indiana, when she submitted this winning paper. Her teacher was Mr. Glen Dillman.

Abraham Lincoln was one of our best known and loved presidents. But he overcame many obstacles to obtain that position in America's heart. What follows is an account of the hardships and trials he conquered in his rise from a virtual unknown, to the sixteenth president of the United States of America.

Lincoln won national notice in his debates with Stephen Douglas. Lincoln had been chosen to run against Douglas for the U.S. Senate. The year was 1856. The election was close, but Douglas won. Lincoln was extremely disappointed. "I feel like the boy who stumped his toe," he said. "I am too big to cry and too hurt to laugh."

But even though Lincoln lost, the debates brought him to the public eye. Republican newspapers in Illinois began to mention Lincoln as president material. His friend, Jesse Fell, agreed with the newspapers. He had just returned from a trip back East. Lincoln had made quite a splash out there. Fell thought Lincoln stood a good chance of winning the Presidency. Although Chase and Seward were the top runners, their reputations as radicals hurt them.

"Fell," said Lincoln, "I admit the force of much of what you say, and admit that I am ambitious, and would like to be President."

When an Illinois editor asked Lincoln if he was planning to announce his candidacy, Lincoln told him, "I do not think myself fit for the Presidency."

But he left all options open. He was ready to take any positions that would help the Republican cause. "Claiming no greater exemption from selfishness than is common," he said,"I still feel that my whole aspiration should be, and therefore must be, to be placed anywhere, or nowhere, as may appear most likely to advance our cause." He knew to help his party he had to acquaint himself to Republicans all over the state and country.

So in 1859, he began to publicize himself. He had all of his 1858 speeches published and passed out. He also wrote a speech to be read at a Jefferson birthday celebration, which was given extensive press coverage. He wrote other Republicans outside of Illinois and offered them advice about party strategy. He firmly opposed an anti-alien amendment passed in Massachusetts. He believed that the American mission was to elevate men, not degrade them.

Lincoln also told Republicans that they must unite to beat Douglas. He told them that Douglas was "the most dangerous enemy to liberty, because he was the most insidious one." Douglas wanted the Democratic presidential nomination, which he couldn't get without Southern support. And he had angered the South with his Freeport Doctrine.

But in a surprise move, he totally abandoned the Freeport Doctrine in the September issue of Harper's Magazine. This made Republicans from all over speak out angrily, including Lincoln. It also proved Lincoln's theory that Douglas "never let the logic of principle displace the logic of success."

In mid-October Lincoln and Mary left for Columbus, where he addressed a crowd from the steps of the statehouse. There were many important Ohio Republicans there. In his speech Lincoln showed that he didn't agree with Douglas's ideas.

From there, he went to Cincinnati where Douglas had spoken a few days earlier. Douglas had branded Lincoln as a "warmongering radical."

In his speech at Cincinnati. Lincoln directed his remarks to the Kentuckians as if they were in the audience.

"I think slavery is wrong, morally and politically. I want to block it's spread and wouldn't mind if it's gradually terminated in the whole Union. But you Kentuckians differ radically with me upon this preposition. You think slavery is good and ought to be expanded and perpetuated. Therefore you should nominate Douglas for president, for he is more wisely for you than you are for yourselves. But whether you run Douglas or not, we Republicans are going to "stick by our guns" and beat you in a fair election. Yet, we won't hurt you. We will treat you as Washington, Jefferson, and Madison treated you, and will leave slavery alone, where it already exists among you. We will remember that you are as good as we are and that there are no differences between us except those of circumstance. But a warning

about your repeated threats to split up the Union if we win the Presidency. How will disunion help you? If you secede, you will no longer enjoy the protection of the constitution; we will no longer be obliged to return your fugitive slaves. What will you do, build a wall between us? You are brave and gallant, but man for man you are no braver than we are, and we outnumber you. You can't master us, and since you can't, secession would be the worst of follies..."

His speeches presented the Republicans as peaceful liberty-loving nationalists and hurt Douglas badly in the North. Lincoln won considerable praise in and out of Ohio and invitations to speak elsewhere. In October, in the Ohio state elections, the Republicans carried them. Lincoln received much credit for this.

Lincoln spent the winter in Springfield, where he considered his options. He knew he would rather be in the Senate than the White House. But he still wrote a short autobiographical sketch for Jesse Fell, who was secretary of the Republican State Central Committee. Lincoln remarked, "There is not much of it, for the reason, I suppose, that there is not much of me." In the sketch Lincoln stressed his Pennsylvanian and Quaker background.

Fell sent the sketch to Pennsylvanian newspapers. Pennsylvania was one of the critical states a Republican candidate must have in order to win.

Meanwhile, at a meeting of the Republican National Committee, Norman Judd convinced his colleagues to hold the national convention in Chicago. He claimed that it was an excellent neutral spot, since

Illinois had no clear presidential candidate.

This pleased Lincoln and his men a great deal. It seemed like a good sign for things to come.

In January 1860, Judd and some of Lincoln's friends met secretly in a secret caucus, and officially started Lincoln's presidential campaign. Lincoln was still unsure of his chances, but he gave the crusade his blessing.

Lincoln was worried he had no unified support from the Illinois Republicans. In February, he wrote Judd and told him that it wouldn't hurt him to lose the presidential nomination, but it would hurt him not to secure the Illinois delegation. He asked Judd, "Can you not help me a little in your end of the vineyard?"

Judd had strong politician ties with the Chicago Press & Tribune, which favored Salmon Chase. But a week after Lincoln had spoken to Judd, the paper announced its support of Lincoln.

Lincoln struggled to hold the state party together, thus enhancing his image as the Illinois party leader.

In late February, Lincoln went to New York to speak at the Cooper Institute. On February 27, the day of the speech, he had his picture taken by Matthew Brady, to be passed out in the Northeast.

That night there was a raging snowstorm. Fifteen-hundred people came to hear the Westerner speak. Most paid a 25-cent admission. The total door receipts were $367.00.

The Tribune wrote, "Since the days of Clay and Webster, there hadn't been a larger assemblage of the intellect and moral culture of the city of New York."

Lincoln was slow in getting started, but he quickly warmed up. In his speech Lincoln said that the Republicans were right about slavery and that all they asked was that slavery be considered an evil, not to be expanded.

To the Republicans in the audience he said, "We must strive to keep harmony in the Republic. Let us do nothing through passion and ill-temper. If people will not listen to us, let us calmly consider their demands and see what will satisfy them." Concluding his speech, he said, "LET US HAVE FAITH THAT RIGHT MAKES MIGHT AND, IN THAT FAITH, LET US TO THE END DARE TO DO OUR DUTY AS WE UNDERSTAND IT." To this he received a standing ovation. The next day four newspapers carried his speech.

He left for New England later that same day, to campaign and visit his son Robert, who was attending Phillips Exeter Academy. Robert went with his father when Lincoln gave speeches at Concord and Manchester, where Lincoln was introduced as the next president of the United States.

Lincoln received many other invitations to speak, but he declined them all. He said that by the time he finished in new England, "I shall be so far worn down, and will be carried so far beyond my allotted time, that an immediate return home will be a necessity with me."

In a letter to Mary Lincoln he wrote, "I have been unable to escape this toil. If I had foreseen it, I think I would not have come at all. The speech at New York being within my calculation before I

started went off passably well, and gave me no trouble whatever. The difficulty was to make nine others, before reading audiences who have already seen all of my ideas in print."

Back in Illinois he discovered that his speech in New York had made a big impact on the Illinois Republicans and convinced them that he was president material. He was also the only candidate that they could unite behind. When Lincoln was asked if he was a serious contender, he replied, "The taste is in my mouth."

In May, Lincoln attended the Republican State convention in Illinois. On the first day his cheering colleagues lifted him overhead and passed him up to the platform. His cousin, John Hanks, came in carrying a banner that was tied between two rotted fence rails. The banner read, "Abraham Lincoln, the rail candidate for president in 1860. Two rails made from a lot of 3000 made by Thos. Hanks and Abe Lincoln-whose father was the first pioneer of Macon county."

The crowd called for a speech. Lincoln pointed at the banner and said, "I suppose I am expected to respond to that." The truth was Lincoln hated the nickname "Abe" and references to his being a hick. But he let it go. And so the humble rail-splitter image was born-an image his backers hoped would appeal to the common people. At the convention it was moved to place Lincoln in nomination in Chicago.

Judge David Davis became one of Lincoln's top managers. He would discuss with Lincoln his odds. They knew that the man to beat was Seward. But Seward had made a lot of enemies and the public viewed his as a dangerous radical. It was doubtful that he could carry the

lower Northern states. Without them his campaign would fail.

At the Chicago campaign Lincoln's men concentrated on this issue. They brought in Lincoln supporters to fill the convention with a pro-Lincoln atmosphere. Lincoln stayed home in Springfield, certain he'd fail to win. Davis wired him, "We are quietly moving heaven and earth." The balloting took place at 10 A.M., May 18th. The noon edition of the Illinois State Journal listed the first ballot results, which were: Seward - 173 1/2, Lincoln - 102. The second ballot results were: Seward - 184 1/2, Lincoln - 181. Finally, Lincoln received a long awaited telegraph; "You are nominated, vote just announced-whole no. -465, necessary to choice-234, Lincoln-354-on motion of Mr. Evarts of New York nomination made unanimous amid intense excitement." "Well," Lincoln said, "we've got it."

Lincoln then set up office in the governor's room at the statehouse and employed John Nicolay as his personal secretary. As customary he did no campaigning himself, leaving it all to his Republican workers. Since not much was known about Lincoln, John Locke Scripps published a 32 page pamphlet biography that sold over a million copies.

On June 18, the Democrats nominated Douglas on a platform hinting popular sovereignty. This caused the southern Democrats to split from the northern Democrats, and nominate John C. Breckinridge. The news of the split overjoyed Lincoln. By mid-summer his campaign was in full swing. "A POLITICAL EARTHQUAKE. THE PRAIRIES ON FIRE FOR LINCOLN" read the Illinois State Journal. It pictured the emblem of

an elephant carrying a banner in its trunk, probably the first time the elephant was used as a Republican symbol.

The Democrats tried to smear him, calling him a traitor because of his Mexican War stand. In the South, his name didn't appear on the ballot in 10 states. Lincoln took all of this in stride saying that the American people had too much sense to believe this.

On Election Day, November 6, Lincoln was in a good mood. At 9 P.M. he went to the telegraph office to catch the returns. He had carried Illinois, New England, and Pennsylvania. He needed New York. At last the news came, Lincoln had won New York. In the streets, people were cheering. When the final returns came in, the popular votes were: Lincoln-1,866,452, Douglas 1,376,957, Breckinridge-849,781. In the electoral college: Lincoln-180, Breckinridge-72, & Douglas-12. And so Abraham Lincoln, the rail-splitter, became our 16th President of the United States.

Four years later, when he was pressed to run again, he was non-commital. On one occasion though, he said angrily, "I wish they would stop pushing the subject of the Presidency in my face."

But by early '64 it was no secret that Lincoln wanted a second term, because re-election would prove that the American people approved of his war policies.

There was much opposition throughout the Republicans toward Lincoln's re-election. In Congress the liberal Republicans called him a simple-Susan who dragged his feet on every important war issue. They wanted Salmon Chase to be the Republican nominee. If elected, Chase promised to make no deals with anyone and to preserve America's

free institute.

By February, Chase was gaining momentum. Many of Lincoln's friends thought he should remove Chase from his post as Treasury Secretary. But Lincoln had no plans of removing him as long as he ran his department well, which he did.

In late February, one of Chase's supporters, Sam Pomeroy, started an anti-Lincoln letter among the Republicans saying that Lincoln's re-election was impossible and that another Lincoln administration would "damage the cause of human liberty." This letter caused a big sensation among the Republicans. Both Lincoln's friends and foes denounced the letter as a "rabid and scandalous assault." Chase denied any knowledge of the letter and offered his resignation. But Lincoln refused to accept it, saying that he would judge Chase on his public service only.

But Chase had been badly hurt by the letter. Ohio Republicans abandoned Chase, their native son, and supported Lincoln. On March 5 Chase withdrew.

Meanwhile Lincoln was having troubles of his own. He needed to find a commander who could defeat Lee and prove to the Republicans that Lincoln wasn't as slow and timid as thought.

In March, he sent for Ulysess S. Grant and appointed him General in Chief of the entire Union Army. He was pleased with Grant.

But in May, Grant was stalled nine miles northeast of Richmond; the total casualties was 54,000. All over the Union people were angry at Lincoln for putting a butcher like Grant in

charge. Some began to campaign to replace him with John Fremont. Lincoln's advisors feared that Fremont would split the party.

At the Republican convention on June 7, in Baltimore, Lincoln was unanimously nominated. Andrew Johnson was chosen as his running mate. Their platform called for the surrender of the South and an end to slavery.

Meanwhile a Confederate force led by Jubal Early was threatening Washington. Lincoln feared that this would further alienate the country against him. On July 12, Lincoln stood on the parapet of Fort Stevens, staring gravely at the Union and Confederate troops battle in front of him. Enemy bullets whizzed around him. But Lincoln was oblivious to them, so intent on the scene before him was he. He probably would have been shot if a soldier has not forced him to get down.

Early finally fell back. This angered Lincoln that the Union forces had not destroyed him. That same summer he drafted 500,000 more men, which angered the people even more.

The Democrats had nominated George McClellan. Lincoln was sure McClellan would defeat him.

On August 23, Lincoln wrote, "This morning, as for some days past, it seems increasingly probable that this administration will not be elected for a second term. Then it will be my duty to so co-operate with the President-elect, as to save the Union between the election and the inauguration, as he will have secured his election on such ground that he can not possible save it afterwards." After he signed and sealed it, he had each member of his Cabinet sign it

without telling them what it was. Then he put it away until needed.

Many thought that the only way Lincoln could win was to give up his fight for emancipation. But Lincoln refused, saying that the Negro soldiers were needed badly, and he would not forsake them. He would "be damned in time and eternity if he did."

But he was wearing down. He started to write a letter to Jeff Davis, suggesting peace terms but he never sent it. He met with the members of his Cabinet. They all agreed that a peace proposal would be worse than losing the election.

On September 2, good news came. Atlanta had surrendered to Sherman. Lincoln called this "a gift from God." His luck was finally changing for the better. He now started moving to get the members of his party behind him again. He ordered government employees to support the Union ticket or lose their jobs. He wrote letters, spoke unofficially with troops, and dropped subtle political remarks. Republican Horace Greeley promised Lincoln that he'd fight like a savage for Lincoln because he hated McClellan.

In October, state elections were held in Pennsylvania and Ohio and Indiana. Both candidates considered these states crucial. Lincoln was eager to secure the soldier vote, hoping most would stand with him, as their Commander in Chief. But Indiana did not allow her soldiers to vote while on the field. So Lincoln had Sherman to grant all 29 Indiana regiments furloughs, thus allowing them to vote. On October 11, election day, the Republicans narrowly carried Pennsylvania, but had major wins in Ohio and Indiana. The Republicans

were predicting a mighty win in November, but Lincoln was not so sure. He figured out that McClellan would carry New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Missouri, Kentucky, and Illinois. He would win the New England states, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Oregon, California, Kansas, Indiana, Ohio, West Virginia, and Nevada. This gave him 120 electoral votes and McClellan 114.

Election Day, November 8, was dark and rainy. Lincoln was up at dawn to eat breakfast with his family. At 7 P.M. he went to the War Department to catch the returns. He was making steady gains in Pennsylvania; he was ahead in Indiana and other important states. At midnight, Lincoln served fried oysters to everyone.

When the final returns came in, Lincoln had defeated McClellan, and carried every Union state except Delaware, Kentucky, and New Jersey. In the electoral college he had beat McClellen 212-21. The soldier vote was for Lincoln, 116,887-33,748.

Lincoln had done it again. Overcoming great diversity he had won a second term, and showed everyone that this old Illinois "hick" was a fighter.

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PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND THE 1860 AND 1864 ELECTIONS

by

Jeff Myers

Jeff Myers was a student at Grissom Middle School in Mishawaka, Indiana, when he submitted this winning paper. His teacher was Mr. Augustine.

The Diary of Abraham Lincoln

PREFACE

Using accurate dates and events, I have put together what possibly could have been excerpts from a journal which Abraham Lincoln might have kept before and during his nomination in 1860 and 1864.

Tuesday, November 2, 1858

The results of all my labors against Mr. Douglas have all been for naught. The next Senator from the state of Illinois will not be Abraham Lincoln. My prayer is for the sanctity of the Union. I do not have any more money. I have spent all my money on campaigning and have not practiced law to bring in money. I have written N.B. Judd, Chairman of the Republican State Central Committee asking for funds. I am worried about supporting my family at this time.

Wednesday, February 8, 1860

Today I addressed the Republican Club at Cooper Union in New York. I defended the new Republican Party by associating the party ideals with the original signers of our great Constitution. I told them that the Union must be preserved.

Thursday, February 16, 1860

Today I visited Robert at Exeter College. That boy is so like his mother. We have never been close. I suppose this is just payment for the relations my father and I endured. Someday perhaps we will both see it in our hearts to enjoy the relationship of father and son.

Tuesday, April 10, 1860

There is a great possibility that my name will come up in nomination before the convention in Chicago next month. Wouldn't it be something for Tad and Willie to be able to call that great White House home? I have informed my supporters that I will not let them put forth my name for nomination if it requires special deals that must be answered after the election.

Wednesday, April 16, 1860

Today I received the nomination of my party for President of the United States. Imagine, only three ballots to choose this old backwoods lawyer for the highest office in the land. I fear I have gotten myself into a terrible nest of hornets. Slavery must not be an issue; we must preserve the Union at all costs.

Wednesday, July 18, 1860

Today I wrote a letter to my vice-presidential nominee, Hannibal Hamlin, whom I have never met. I am looking forward to receiving a letter from him. I have no recollection of ever meeting him. He first entered the Senate during the single term that I was a member of the House of Representatives.

Friday, September 21, 2860

I hear tell my worthy opponent Mr. Douglas has taken to the campaign trail, on his own behalf, while I sit here in Springfield like a man with nothing to do. I am told that Mr. Douglas' nomination has really splintered the Democratic Party... so much so that an easy victory for me is assured. I'm afraid my optimism does not run on the same track. I fear the election of either party will have grave consequences on the future of the Union of States. I feel like the lost man touring the prison who asks an inmate if he knows the way out.

Friday, October 19, 1860

Today I received a letter from a little girl in Westfield, New York. Miss Grace Bedell suggested that I let my beard grow out. She entertained the thought that since my face was so thin the beard would make me look better. She also added that ladies like whiskers and they would tease their husbands to vote for me, and then I would be President. I shall remind William in the morning to let my whiskers grow.

Thursday, November 8, 1860

Now that the election is over, I have requested a meeting with the Vice President, Mr. Hannibal Hamlin. I telegraphed him and requested he meet me in Chicago at his earliest convenience. I still have not met him. I am very anxious to meet him.

Tuesday, November 20. 1860

Word came today of my victory in the election for President. The Vice President himself, Mr. John Breckinridge, announced the

results to the whole Senate. It must have been a terribly hard thing for John to do since he too was a candidate for this same office. Now there is much to do and so little time to do it.

Thursday, December 20, 1860

President Buchanan has been unable to hold the country together. South Carolina becomes the first state to secede from the Union. I pray to the Almighty that things will come to normal soon and these terrible differences can be settled.

Saturday, December 21, 1860

Today I told the press that there is to be no question on the extension of slavery in the new territories. I do not want slavery in the new states any more than I want it in the present states. I am inflexible on this issue.

Tuesday, January 8, 1861

The Union of States has been further torn today by the secession of the states of Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana. May God help me in my endeavor to rejoin this nation. I am afraid a war between the states may be coming soon. I fear blood being shed between neighbors... brothers.

Tuesday, February 5, 1861

Today I paid what may be my last visit to my beloved mother. She is very old now and with the uncertainty of my life to come, I would hesitate to guess about a return visit to Springfield. Although my father and I never could experience a closeness as father and son, my visit to his lonely, unmarked grave compelled

me to order a suitable gravestone to mark the spot of his burial.

Thursday, February 21, 1861

My good friend Norman Judd and his associate Allan Pinkerton have this evening informed me of a plot to assassinate me before I arrive at the nation's capital. I told Mr. Pinkerton that if there is positive danger in my attempting to go through Baltimore, I will try to get away quietly from the people at Harrisburg tomorrow. I shall leave the details of this secret plot to Mr. Pinkerton and the safety of my life to the good Lord.

Saturday, February 23, 1861

Very early this morning I arrived at Union Station in Washington, D.C.. Mr. Pinkerton was successful in getting this very tired President elect through the dangers faced in the city of Baltimore. I must admit that it was not exactly the way a President elect should end what appeared to be a very successful trip to the nation's capital. Mrs. Kate Warren traveled with me as my sister telling the conductor that I was her sick brother. I traveled the whole trip in a very cramped berth. I am thankful for being here but the lack of sleep for twenty-four hours has played its toll on me. I shall take up the business of my office later.

Monday, March 4, 1861

Today I was inaugurated as President of the United States. Today I took an oath to try to keep the Union together. I pray to God that our states can solve this problem and reunite as one solid country.

Sunday, March 20, 1864

I am getting worried about Mary. I think she misses the home life back in Illinois; and to help her through this, I think she uses "shopping" to help. Mr. Hay is pretty upset about the bills. I do not know how to help. I do not think I will run in the next election. Maybe this will help Mary.

Friday, March 25, 1864

Taddie today convinced me to run for President again. He told me that it was the people who count, so I will run... knowing that I may not win... but I will try.

Saturday, June 4, 1864

Today, in Baltimore, I was renominated for President. I just hope that Mary can take this. She wants me to run for President; but as I read between the lines, I believe she really wants to go back home to Springfield.

Monday, August 15, 1864

Today, my rivals the Democrats, met in Chicago to pick their candidate. Mr. Hay said it was going to be a dirty business, and he was so right! Those Democrats had not one good word to say about me, but it really does not bother me... for they do have the right of free speech.

Tuesday, August 16, 1864

Today Taddie was especially upset over the Democrats. I told him what will be must be. I have done the best I can and

can do no better. Mary is wonderful. She is like a horse that might be tired after a long-day's ride but would suddenly prick up its ears turning running down the road for home.

Tuesday, September 20, 1864

General Sherman fought his way, thoroughly winning the battle of Atlanta. I would like to see McClellan's face right now. Mr. Hay said he would rather rub his nose in the telegram saying General Sherman won, but I suggested sending a telegram of congratulations to General Sherman!

Tuesday, January 31, 1865

Today the Thirteenth Amendment was finally passed ending slavery and, hopefully, this war. I am very pleased with the outcome of it. The cook informed me that Tad brought three more street urchins into the kitchen to be fed. Tad's heart is big, but I must talk to him about his social endeavors.

Thursday, March 10, 1865

Today Mary, Taddie and I left on the river steamboat called the River Queen. Our destination was City Point, Virginia, for a visit with General Grant. We are looking forward to the steamboat ride.

Tuesday, March 14, 1865

What a glorious day! General Grant broke through Lee's lines at Petersburg and the Confederate capital of Richmond fell into our forces. General Grant pursued Lee toward a place in Virginia called Appomattox Court House.

Monday, April 4, 1865

We left City Point for Richmond today on Tad's birthday. Thank God I have lived to see it! It seems to me that I have been dreaming a horrid dream for four years, and now the nightmare is gone.

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Saturday, April 15, 1865

I feel, as a duty to my beloved father that I should end my father's journal as he is now dead. He was shot at Ford's Theater last night. Early this morning he died. I feel he left us because his duty on earth is done, and in heaven, Willie needed him more. That's how I will always now think of Pa... up there with Willie having a wonderful time and still watching over us here. Pa and Willie always liked writing poetry together. I'm sure that is how they will spend much of their time. Goodbye Pa...

Your loving son,
Tad

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THE UNION IS PERPETUAL

by

Larissa Kathleen Rudenko

Larissa Rudenko was a student at Thomkins Middle School in Evansville, Indiana, when she submitted this winning paper. Her teacher was Mr. Dennis Kuhlenhoelter.

"America has been strangely the child of destiny, in that at each of its supreme crises men of surpassing ability, courage, and worth have risen to lead the nation through its period of stress."[1] Such a man was Abraham Lincoln, a man of humble beginnings, who became the sixteenth President of the United States.

His election in 1860 came at a time when the entire nation was in turmoil, and desperately needing a President who would hold it together. He was well liked in his home state of Illinois, where he had been a railsplitter, flatboatman, storekeeper, surveyor, postman, soldier, and lawyer. He served four terms in the Illinois legislature and one term in Congress, where he was one of the most prominent Whigs in Illinois. The Whig party died out after the Kansas-Nebraska Act, then he became an outstanding Republican leader.

As a lawyer, he traveled throughout his state, meeting with everyday people and impressing them with his humor, stories, and speeches. Although he was married into the Kentucky aristocracy, he believed that slavery was a moral, political, and social wrong. Some people criticized him because he did not attend or

belong to any church, but his belief in the Supreme Being shows through in many of his speeches.

The election of 1860 was clearly to be one of the most fateful elections in the history of our country. Here it would be decided whether the Union would stay intact or be broken in two. "With his homely, rugged face, his reputation for honesty, his mental tenacity, his innate conservatism, and his mastery of terse, epigrammatic English, he stood out as a vigorous spokesman of a new party."[2]

Though the election of 1860 was still a long way off, it was Lincoln's speeches during the early years that impressed people with his worth. His speeches were logical, inspiring, eloquent, and full of memorable sayings. Once he was nominated, however, he stopped giving speeches. "He said his views could be found in his earlier speeches. He said he had not changed his views since then and had no intention of changing. Simply to repeat himself to those who refused to listen would do no good."[3]

The turning point in Lincoln's political life was in 1854. He had faced many setbacks in his life and was familiar with disappointment. He had dropped out of politics for a while, but eagerly returned when the Missouri Compromise was repealed and replaced with "popular sovereignty." His involvement in speaking against the act raised him to national prominence.

The Missouri Compromise was enacted by Congress to legislate slavery. It excluded slavery north of the 36° 30' latitude.

This quieted the slavery issue until 1854. It was then that the Kansas-Nebraska Act determined that the question of slavery in the territories should be decided by its residents, not by Congress. This repealed the Missouri Compromise and caused extreme outrage in the North, because it opened up the whole country to slavery.

Stephen Douglas, an Illinois Senator who helped write the bill, wanted Kansas and Nebraska made into territories, and also wanted to win favor with the South. Little did he realize his theory of "popular sovereignty" would cause a great social change. The North and the South began to battle it out in the territories, with both the pro-slavery and the anti-slavery crusaders pouring into Kansas to increase the population in their favor, before the vote was taken. It became known as "bleeding Kansas" because of all the fighting, burning, and killing that followed. The real Civil War was beginning here in Kansas.

In Lincoln's first major denunciation of slavery, which was called his Peoria Address, he called for the restoration of the Missouri Compromise and attacked "popular sovereignty." He acknowledged the right of the South to own and recover slaves, yet he expressed his hatred of slavery and called it a "monstrous injustice." Lincoln admitted the enormous problem of dealing with slavery when he said, "If all earthly powers were given to me, I would not know what to do." As a solution, he did suggest gradual emancipation, and urged the North and South to view

slavery, not as a "sacred right", but as a problem of the entire nation.

The Dred Scott decision was another incident that raised a storm of protest in the North. Lincoln was appalled at the Supreme Court decision, and in many of his speeches focused the country's eyes on slavery as a great moral wrong. Dred Scott was a slave who had been taken North to live and raise a family. When he was taken back to the South by his owner, he sued for his freedom, based on his having lived in the North. The case posed three fundamental questions: Was Scott a citizen who could sue? What was his status in going from free to slave state? and Could Congress legally legislate slavery?

The Court's decision was that Negroes were not part of "we the people" and could not sue; that they could be free and then become slaves again; and that Congress had no right to legislate slavery, hence the Missouri Compromise was illegal. It required a Civil War and two Constitutional Amendments before citizenship would be given to "all" the people.

The race for the Illinois Senate seat in 1858 had a great impact on the Presidential election of 1860. The two candidates were both great men. Lincoln felt slavery a great wrong, while Douglas didn't really care one way or the other. While Lincoln was known around his state, Douglas was very famous, not only in Illinois but nationwide. Lincoln had a formidable opponent.

This Illinois contest was to become the most famous state campaign in the history of America. Its chief result was to make Lincoln a national figure and to be considered for the Presidency soon after. Douglas, though he won the Senate seat, lost his support in the South and with it the Presidency.

So in 1858, Lincoln got the Republican nomination for the Senate. When he accepted the nomination he gave his famous "House Divided" speech. In it he argued against the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the Dred Scott decision. He said he thought the politicians in Washington were trying to perpetuate slavery. He also said, "I believe the government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved-- I do not expect the house to fall-- but I do expect that it will cease to be divided." His main theme that day was the preservation of the Union.

The Democratic candidate was to be Stephen Douglas. He and Lincoln had served together in the Illinois state legislature, but they always found themselves at odds with each other on every issue.

In comparing the two, many differences show up. Lincoln was tall, thin, gaunt, and had been raised in poverty. He didn't drink, smoke, or swear, but he was humorous and a great storyteller. But even with his gift of words in his magnificent speeches, he still remained a backwoodsman in his everyday

language at home and with friends. He had little formal schooling, but he was a good politician who could inspire others, and was willing to serve the people. His clothes were old, much too small, and in terrible condition.

Stephen Douglas, the "Little Giant," was a roaring fierce speaker, who was short and "built like a bull." His speeches were masterpieces of intelligence, and delivered with power. He was handsome, rich, well-dressed, and sophisticated. He was a brilliant lawyer turned politician, who could speak for hours on end. He was a seasoned campaigner who was well liked, not only in Illinois, but also across the nation. He was a powerful opponent for Lincoln.

The thing they did have in common was the desire to stop sectionalism, to keep slavery from spreading, and their intense desire to keep the Union intact. The main difference between the two was their philosophical approach to slavery. Lincoln hated slavery, while Douglas was just indifferent to it. Lincoln said, "The real issue in this controversy is the sentiment on the part of one class that look upon the institution of slavery as a wrong, and of another class that does not look at it as wrong."

Lincoln suggested he and Douglas debate the issues of the campaign before the people of their state. Douglas did not want to accept because he had nothing to gain from it; but when the news got out, he decided to accept. They met in a series of

debates all around Illinois. The most important debate took place at Freeport where Lincoln showed his shrewdness by asking Douglas a no-win question. If he answered "no," he lost the vote in Illinois, and if he answered "yes," he lost the good will of the Southern Democrats. Lincoln's question was this: "Can the people of a United States territory in any lawful way, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a State constitution?"

Douglas' answer, called the "Freeport Heresy" by the South, was "yes," they can keep slavery out. It helped him win the Illinois seat that year, but it guaranteed that he would never become President, because it made it impossible for the South to accept him as their leader in the coming Presidential campaign. This and all the national exposure that Lincoln received were the key reasons that made the Lincoln-Douglas debates so important.

As soon as the Senate contest was over, several small town newspapers carried these headlines: LINCOLN FOR PRESIDENT 1860. Many people, especially Republican politicians, began looking at Lincoln as a possible Presidential candidate. Voters from all over the country had heard of him and wanted to know more about him. It was during his travels of over four thousand miles, and delivering twenty-three addresses, that the East began to know and admire Lincoln.

On February 27, 1860, he delivered a speech at Cooper Union, New York, that proved to be another important milestone in his career. It was a masterpiece in moderation. He called for restoration of the Missouri Compromise and condemned the Dred Scott decision. He no longer used his "House Divided" ideas but put forth his policy of "live and let live," as long as slavery was not expanded into the territories. He thought that if slavery was kept confined and not allowed to grow that eventually it would die out.

Gradually he was beginning to think of the Presidency. He wrote a letter to Senator Lyman Trumbull stating, "The taste is in my mouth." Norman Judd, the Illinois Republican State Chairman, became Lincoln's major promoter. Judd even arranged to have the national Republican convention in Chicago.

The country was in a uproar with the North hating the South, and the South in return hating the North. "The propaganda of northern and southern agitators is often considered one of the prime causes of the American Civil War."[5]

The struggle for the Presidency in 1860 was mainly at the Republican convention where there were two strong candidates. The Democratic party was broken in half over the slavery dispute, and the only candidate they had was Stephen Douglas who was rejected by the South.

The Illinois Republican convention had no trouble choosing their candidate. It was held on May 9, and was overwhelmingly for Lincoln, their "favorite son." The national convention was in Chicago on May 16th. It was a mixture of Whigs, free-soilers, abolitionists, railroadmen, Democrats who had left their party, and Republicans. It was held in a building that had been especially built for the convention. It was called the "Wigwam" and could hold ten thousand people.

Lincoln thought his chances of winning were slim since he was opposed by William H. Seward. Seward was absolutely sure of the nomination, but he had not taken into account his radical reputation and the number of enemies he had made in his long career as Governor of New York and as a Senator. There were others who wanted to be President, such as Edward Bates of Missouri, Fremont of New York, and Cameron of Pennsylvania.

But Lincoln's managers gained enough support for him to win the nomination. His own supporters and the anti-Seward group voted for him, as did several doubtful states whose votes were obtained by political bargains made with Lincoln's managers. Although Lincoln himself said he would make no such bargains, he did fulfill these obligations after his election. His managers also gave out extra seating tickets to Lincoln's supporters so they could fill up all the seats in the "Wigwam." Seward's

supporters couldn't find any seats because they were all filled with Lincoln supporters. Hannibal Hamlin of Maine was named as Lincoln's Vice-President.

The convention was a purely sectional one, with its strength in the North and in the West. The slave states had all refused to attend and threatened to secede from the Union if Lincoln was elected. The Republicans tended to ignore this threat because they thought it would not happen. They were wrong.

It was a practical party in that its platform appealed to many people. They tried to have something for everyone. It included: states rights, Federal internal improvements, free homesteads, transcontinental railroads, a protective tariff for the East, and freedom from slavery in the territories. This also included a denunication of the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the Dred Scott decision.

The Constitutional Union Party also held a convention. It was a conservative party whose sole desire was to save the Union. They put up John Bell of Tennessee, and Edward Everett of Massachusetts.

The Democrats held their convention at Charleston, South Carolina, on April 23. The Northern Democrats wanted a "popular sovereignty" platform while the Southern Democrats wanted a slave code. When the Northern Democrats won, the ten Southern states walked out and held its own convention in Baltimore. They

elected John Breckinridge from Kentucky as their candidate on a slavery platform. The Northern Democrats held a second convention in Baltimore and chose Stephen Douglas and Hershel Johnson as their candidates.

The Republican party ran a vigorous campaign while Lincoln remained at his home in Springfield saying little. Since it was a custom of the time for party workers to campaign for the candidates, this didn't seem unusual. Only Douglas had to campaign for himself, due to poor management and lack of money.

Lincoln's workers gave speeches, picnics, and parades all over the country. They were well organized and had plenty of financial backing. Youthful supporters of his were called the "Wide Awakes" and had uniforms and engaged in military drills. His election was almost taken for granted because of disunity in the Democratic Party.

Since his party was split and there was little hope of getting enough votes, Douglas did a very courageous and patriotic thing. He admitted defeat in October saying, "Mr. Lincoln is the next President. We must go South to save the Union." He quit the battle for the Presidency and engaged in a gallant effort to save the nation. He went deep into the hostile South, giving speeches to convince the people that they should not leave the Union. It did little good because he was ridiculed everywhere.

He tried so hard he became ill and later died in the service of his country. At this time it seems we were blessed by destiny with two great statesmen.

When the popular election votes were counted, Lincoln had won, but it wasn't a landslide. The Republicans had won the Presidency but had not gained control of either the House or the Senate. This election shows what a failure the electoral college was in reflecting the will of the people, for in it, Lincoln received practically all the votes, while Douglas, who received only twelve electoral votes, had many more popular votes. A map of this election was a map of the country splitting in two.

The Republicans had thought the South would not secede, but soon after the election, on December 6, South Carolina left the Union.

What did Lincoln think of this, and what was he going to do? Everyone was worried, but he refused to say anything. Finally on the way to his Inauguration, he spoke denouncing the Crittenden Compromise. It was a bill before Congress that might just prevent a war, but it was a compromise of all of Lincoln's principles. In the Compromise, the territories would be divided between slave and free on the boundaries of the old Missouri Compromise. The Senate thought it a good way to stop the slavery unrest. But Lincoln said, "Let there be no compromise on

the question of extending slavery." He had used great foresight, because even the Hawaiian islands could possibly become a slave territory someday, if the Compromise had been accepted.

At his Inauguration he promised he would not interfere with slavery where it existed: he reaffirmed the Fugitive Slave Law, then put forth his brilliant "defense concept." He chose his words very carefully, making sure no one would call him the agressor. He spoke in terms of defending the Constitution and enforcing the laws. "The declared purpose of the Union is that it will constitutionally defend and maintain itself." By this, he could never be blamed for attacking the South, just defending the Union. If the States were to secede, it would be treason and the Union would be forced to defend itself. The he said, "I hold, that in the contemplation of the universal law, and of the Constitution, the union of these states is perpetual... no state upon its own mere motion can lawfully get out of the Union."[6] His closing words that day were, "In your hands, my dissatisfied countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war."

The 1864 election was not held in the South, only in the North. There the Republicans had taken on the name of the Union Party because it was a fusion of the Republican Party and many of the Northern Democrats, There were many party differences, but they put them aside for a common cause: to save the Union. Their

plank called for "laying aside all difference of political opinion." They approved of the President's war policy, wanted integrity of the Union, denounced France's attempt to start a Mexican empire, and wanted to "maintain against all their enemies, the integrity of the Union."

With soaring prices and endless war, there was a great loss of confidence in President Lincoln. But on June 7, 1864, he was nominated again with Andrew Johnson of Tennessee as his Vice-President. There were many powerful Radical Republicans who did not agree. They decided to run Fremont as their candidate. But, fortunately for Lincoln, his soldiers started winning the war. Atlanta fell, and Sheridan marched into the Shenandoah Valley. Suddenly everyone wanted Lincoln to stay in the White House.

Now the Democrats had to face a united Union Party while their own party tore apart again. Some Democrats wanted to stop fighting immediately, while others wanted to negotiate a peace plan. They elected General McClellan as their Presidential candidate and George Pendleton from Ohio as Vice-President. "The campaign before the American people thus afforded the peculiar spectacle of a civilian President running on a no-compromise war platform, and a general of the army running on a pacifist and a defeatist one."[7]

When the election was over, the popular vote was close, but once again the electoral college did not reflect the popular

vote. There Lincoln received two hundred twelve votes, while McClellan received only twenty.

Thus, Lincoln retained the Presidency. It was a job he had probably never dreamed of as a young man in Illinois, but a job in which he saved his country from destruction. Lincoln gave our nation a precious heritage with which to face the future when he said, "The Union of the states is perpetual... an oath registered in heaven to Preserve, Protect, and Defend."

FOOTNOTES

[1]Paul Wellman, The House Divides. New York: Doubleday and Company, 1966. p. 283.

[2]J.G. Randall, The Divided Union. vol.1. D.C.: Little, Brown and Company, 1961. p. 117.

[3]Kenneth Stampp, And the War Came. Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1970. p. 180.

[4]Wellman, p. 337.

[5]Stampp, p. 1.

[6]Wellman, p. 463.

[7]James Adams, The March of Democracy. vol. 3. New York: Charles Scribner and Sons, 1965. p. 99.

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THE ELECTION OF THE LEADER

by

Kimberly Ruse

Kimberly Ruse was a student at St. Thomas Aquinas Junior High School in Indianapolis, Indiana, when she submitted this winning paper. Her teacher was Mrs. Kathy Chapman.

INTRODUCTION

This is an account of Abraham Lincoln's re-entry into politics and the election of 1860 as told by his wife, Mary Todd Lincoln. It is being relayed on the date of December 20, 1860, the day the South seceded from the Union. Mary's personal comments and feelings are not documented or positively factual, but are assumed and most probably true.

Today is December 10, 1860. South Carolina has just seceded from the Union to begin the Confederate States of America. Just a few months ago, Abraham was elected President, and now this. It seems like it was only yesterday that Abraham made his re-entry into politics.

A change in the national policy was what actually brought Abraham back. The 1820 Missouri Compromise prohibited slavery in new territories north of an east-west line. Early in 1854, Senator Stephen A. Douglas, known well by both Abraham and me, introduced a bill to organize the territories of Kansas and Nebraska. This Kansas-Nebraska Act repealed the Missouri Compromise. It is said that the settlers of new territories could decide whether their state would prohibit slavery or condone it. Abraham and others believed that slavery had been permanently limited.

After this Kansas-Nebraska Act, Abraham became outraged. Abraham believed that our Founding Fathers had intended to keep slavery from spreading, and said, "I have never had a thought politically which did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence."

Abraham had idolized Henry Clay during the years of the Whig party, but looked to Thomas Jefferson for his principles. Abraham never became an abolitionist and believed that the bonds holding our nation together would be strained if Americans made a rapid break with the past and its ideals. He did want slavery known as an evil, and wanted our nation to be equal to equality and freedom. He stated that to ignore moral values would deprive the republican example of its just influence in the world. Abraham decided to return to politics with the goal of reversing Douglas' Kansas-Nebraska Act.

After the Kansas-Nebraska Act, Abraham's aims became even higher and broader. He began to work to make the nation's ideas pull through. Abraham had always been a clever, forceful speaker. Now, I saw a new sincerity and deep conviction lend greater power to his gripping words. He entered the congressional election in 1854 so he could help a candidate who opposed him.

At Chicago, Springfield, and Peoria, Abraham delivered speeches with such conviction and passion that he became known as the leader of Illinois' forces opposing the Kansas-Nebraska Act. These speeches helped him gain recognition and he was elected to

the Illinois legislature. He resigned, though, to run for the Senate. At this time the legislature elected senators. On the first ballot Abraham received 45 votes, five short of the majority. After this, his votes began to dwindle. To keep a Douglas supporter from being elected, he asked his followers to vote for Lyman Trumball, a man who shared his strong beliefs. Trumball began with only five votes, but with Abraham's help, he won the election.

Meanwhile, Abraham's Whig party had already begun to fall. The members didn't agree on the problem of slavery. In 1856 Abraham joined the Anti-Slavery Republican party, which was then only two years old.

During the campaign of 1856 Abraham made more than one hundred speeches on behalf of John C. Fremont. Fremont lost to a Democrat, James Buchanan. Even though his man lost, Abraham gained position in the party for his unselfish work.

In 1858 Abraham ran his toughest race against Stephen Douglas for Illinois Senator. Abraham's nomination speech was very controversial and brought conflict between the South and North.

He said,

> "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure, permanently, half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved. I do not expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the states - old as well as new, north as well as south."

This was a stirring speech which expressed his views clearly and sharply. After a few more speeches, Abraham challenged Douglas to seven debates that came to be known as the Lincoln-Douglas Debates.

Before I get into the famed debates, I should explain how I came to know Stephen. He was my beaux when I was a young girl. Stephen had a wonderful personality of force, a strong face, vibrant voice, and a rather massive head. Because this impressive upper body was set on a pair of stubby, short legs, he was nicknamed the "Little Giant."

I liked brainy, intelligent people and Stephen was just that. He was also bold and brave. One such example of this stands out in my memory. One fine spring day, Stephen came upon me as I was braiding a wreath of flowers to place on my head. I was in a happy, frolicking mood and I dared him to wear them. If you had been walking down the street that pleasant day, you would have come upon a young couple, one would have looked rather silly, wearing a wreath of pink flowers on his head. Stephen and I had many enjoyable times like these. We never got serious enough for marriage, but Abraham and Stephen did court me at the same time and there were a few hurt feelings before that ended.

Now, here they were, once again, striving for the same position. These debates were to be held in seven different cities of Illinois. The first debate was held at Ottowa on August 21, 1858, and the last at Alton, on October 15. Both of them spoke for an hour and a half each. Every debate drew large

crowds, except for the one at Jonesboro. The debates were a national event. The speeches, of course, centered on slavery. Stephen defended the Kansas-Nebraska Act and popular sovereignty, while Abraham spoke out against both of these points. In addition to the debates, both toured the nation, collecting support. Finally, the grueling campaign had ended; the elections were now at hand. Abraham lost the election, but had made a very strong impression that would come into use two years later.

On a rainy night in 1856, Henry Villard, a reporter for the New York Staats-Zeitung, and Abraham were waiting for a train. As they were standing at the depot, Abraham began to muse about politics. He chuckled about my fervent belief that he could become the President. He commented, "just think of a sucker as me being President."

In April of 1859, the editor of the Rock Island Register in Illinois, suggested that Abraham could be the Republican candidate for president. From around then on he began to think he had a bit of a chance, but stated, "I do not think myself fit for the presidency."

Abraham soon received requests to speak in Iowa, Indiana, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. His popularity was growing rapidly. I remember some of his speaking dates better than others. On September 30, Abraham spoke in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, to give the principal address at the state fair. The speech was billed as non-political but turned out exactly the opposite; his remarks had highly political overtones. Abraham

won over the crowd by attacking the Southerners, and complimenting the freesoil farmers.

I also remember a series of speeches in Kansas which supplied one of Abraham's old friends, Jesse Fell, with materials for a biographical sketch. This aided hi, greatly because the sketch was published in a Republican newspaper, which gave him further eastern exposure.

Before we get any further into this, I think I should describe Abraham's Republican candidate opponents. William H. Seward, a former New York governor and U.S. Senator since 1848, was against the extension of slavery. Then came Salmon Chase, more of a radical who spent two terms as an Ohio governor and one term as a United States Senator. Ed Bates was a former anti-slavery Congressman of Missouri. Justice John McLean of Ohio, loved by the abolitionists for his dissenting opposition in the disputed Dred Scott case, was also in the running. Last, but not least, was Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania who was known as a trick politician.

Did my husband have a chance?

Abraham helped his own cause by starting in New York and addressing the Republican Club at Cooper Union. He got a standing ovation there and decided to visit our son Robert who, at that time, was studying at Phillips Exeter Academy. Republican leaders in towns along the route asked Abraham to speak.

The Republican convention of 1860 was held in Chicago. Forty thousand spectators came to see the nominating convention. It was held on the corner of Lane and Market streets in a wooden building properly named the Wigwam. This fine structure could hold up to ten thousand supporters.

Most people expected the main fight to take place between Abraham and Seward. One reporter described the commotion like this, "Imagine all the hogs ever slaughtered in Cincinnati giving their death squeals together... I thought the Seward yell could not be surpassed; but the Lincoln boys... made every plank and pillar in the building quiver."

The Republican party was now ready to decide who would be its candidate for the elections of 1860. On the first ballot Chase had 49 votes, Seward 173 1/2, and Abraham had 102. On the second ballot, Abraham gained the support of Indiana and Pennsylvania and came out with 181 votes to Seward's 184 1/2. Finally, on the third ballot, Ohio switched four votes from Chase to Abraham, giving him the 233 votes needed. Abraham had won the election.

Meanwhile, the Democratic convention began. The site of the 1860 convention was Charleston, South Carolina, which was a bad choice. Charleston was a handsome, residential town of about 50,000 citizens. The boarding houses and hotels agreed to charge five dollars a night. This outrageous price infuriated the Northerners who weren't welcome in private houses and found it difficult to pay.

It was a very hot April. The chosen convention building held 3,000 people, and when filled to capacity, was airless. The atmosphere of this convention was unfriendly and each day became more so as the upset Northerners ran out of money and went home.

The Southern minority, led by Buchanan, was determined not to have Stephen Douglas nominated. It was well known that Stephen wouldn't accept a platform running counter to his doctrine on popular sovereignty. The response of the minority was simple. They would leave if they did not get their way. Stephen paid little attention to this reaction and figured that only a few states would withdraw. Too many states ended up boycotting, leaving Stephen with less than the two thirds of the majority needed to win.

There was nothing else to do but adjourn to Baltimore for another election. Stephen won easily there, settling the whole situation. The states which withdrew formed two other separate parties to support their own views. They nominated John Bell of Tennessee and John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky.

All of the conventions were over. Abraham had three opponents: Stephen Douglas, of the Northern Democratic party, John C. Breckinridge who represented the Southern Democratic party, and John Bell running for the Constitutional Union party.

Through all of this commotion, I couldn't help but be happy. I'd known all along that he could do it, and now he was even beginning to believe he could. As Abraham's people were campaigning, I was keeping Abraham company and going about my

regular routine in Springfield. One day I remembered something I had said when Abraham and Stephen were courting me. I said that I'd marry the one most likely to become President. I did.

Soon enough, the election of 1860 rolled around. Abraham and I were both very nervous, but it turned out that there was nothing to worry about. In the electoral vote Abraham received 180 votes to Breckinridge's 72, Bell's 39, and Douglas's 12. In the popular vote Abraham complied 1,856,593 to Stephen's 1,382,713, Breckinridge's 848,356 and Bell's 592,906. What we thought could never happen had. My husband, Abraham Lincoln was the President of the United States and I was the First Lady.

Abraham hasn't been inaugurated yet. The ceremonies are scheduled for March 4, 1861. Now, however, after being so excited, content, and happy, we're all very upset. I still cannot believe the South actually did what they threatened they'd do. South Carolina is the only state that has seceded so far, but more are predicted to follow later. What will happen if they do? Will there be a much talked about civil war? I hope we don't resort to that. We must preserve the Union.

CONCLUSION

There was, of course, a civil war. In the end many people wondered why it was waged. The South was destroyed, the countryside mutilated and buildings burned. The Civil War ended with Lee's surrender April 9, 1865. Five days later Lincoln was assassinated while attending a play at Ford's Theatre. The nation mourned for its President, who was just beginning his second term. Mary went into a severe depression and later went insane. Through it all Lincoln succeeded in, what was to him, the most important goal. After all, the Union was preserved.

OUTLINE

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A. KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT

B. CONGRESS ELECTIONS-1854

C. CONGRESS ELECTIONS-1856

D. SENATE ELECTION-1858

III. REPUBLICAN CONVENTION OF 1860

IV. DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION OF 1860

V. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1860

VI. CONCLUSION

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THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1860 IN INDIANA

by

Lisa Weinstein

Lisa Weinstein was a student at Westlane Middle School, in Indianapolis, Indiana, when she submitted this winning paper. Her teacher was Mr. Roy Crumly.

"Since Abraham Lincoln has been nominated for the presidency, his friends are trying hard to make him out the greatest man in America. But unfortunately his history will not sustain such a character -- what has Lincoln ever done that he should be called great, or worthy of the presidency? Absolutely nothing!"

Attacks against Lincoln and his party in Indiana Democratic newspapers posed potential problems for the amount of votes Lincoln and the Republicans might receive from Indiana in the 1860 election.

Up to the 1860's Indiana was a strong supporter of the Democratic party. It was said that Indiana was one of the few states that would spell victory or defeat for the Republicans in the national election of 1860. In order for Lincoln to gain support from the citizens of Indiana, he needed the help of two important people. These were Henry S. Lane and Oliver P. Morton, the leading Republican contenders for Governor and Lieutenant Governor of Indiana.

There were many issues in the 1860 election. One of the important issues was the tariff. Before this election low tariffs, or taxes, prevailed. Lincoln felt that higher tariffs protected

manufacturers and built up a better home market for farm products. After Lincoln made known his high tariff policy, it proved to be a supreme strength to him.

Another issue in this election was the Homestead Bill. This bill would grant public lands of the United States to actual settlers on these lands. Any citizen at least 21 years of age or the head of a family would be eligible for a homestead of at least 160 acres. The Goshen Democrat, a Democratic paper, accused Lincoln and his Vice-Presidential running mate, Hannibal Hamlin, of voting against the Homestead Bill and of opposing "the granting of lands to the landless."

Of course, one of the biggest issues in the election of 1860 was that of slavery. Even though Lincoln was personally opposed to slavery, and had been since early childhood, he believed that he held no legal power (if he became president) to abolish it. As he had stated in his first inaugural:

"I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the states where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so."

In the 1860 election, the Democrats constantly tried to link the Republican organization to racial equality. Senator Steven A. Douglas, one of the Democratic candidates, said:

"The equality of the negro with the white man, universal suffrage, extending to negroes as well as to white men, is the grand central theme of the Republican organization."

The following is another quote from a Democratic newspaper in 1860 which was meant as a "put down":

"Who believe that all men (including negroes) are created equal - a declaration whose moral, social and logical sequence is that negroes are in every way equal with white men, and therefore, it can be but a simple act of justice to put them on such equality? Lincoln and Hamlin!"

Since the Democrats constantly portrayed Lincoln as a radical anti-slave candidate, while the Republicans did not want this radicalism attached to them, Lincoln had to constantly explain his famous "House Divided" speech. (This speech told of Lincoln's feeling that a government could not survive a country "half-slave" and "half-free").

The Goshen Democrat, on September 26, 1860, told how Lincoln voted steadily with the abolitionists. Henry S. Lane (Republican nominee for Governor) came back with the fact that the Republicans intended to follow all the compromises in the Constitution on slavery. "Do you," Lane asked his audience, "discover any abolitionism in that?"

The Rockport Democrat, one of the Indiana Democratic newspapers, attacked Lincoln on many issues. One of the issues was when Lincoln first took his seat in Congress in December of 1847 and how he did nothing but embarrass the government while trying to put an end to the battle of Buena Vista. (This was a famous battle with Mexico which ended the war in northern Mexico).

After seeing how the Democratic newspapers attacked Lincoln and the Republican Party, it would be expected that the Republican papers would come right back with accusations against the Democrats. But this was not the case.

The Indianapolis Daily Journal talked a lot about "Honest Abe" and his childhood in Indiana. They told how he was a hard-working lad, and very eager in his thirst for knowledge. A lot of things were said promoting and reinforcing Lincoln's positive characteristics. This paper also pointed out several inconsistencies with some Democrats' statements.

"Northern Democrats are against the Republicans because the Republicans are opposed to the extension of slavery. Yet, ask a Democrat if he or his party are in favor of the extension of slavery, and the answer will be °no'."

According the the Indianapolis Daily Journal, Douglas manufactured the Kansas-Nebraska bill (a bill which promoted slavery); yet when the bill came up for a vote, he voted against it! That means he probably manufactured this bill to get the support of the southerners. Not many people would want a president who doesn't "practice what he preaches!"

The results of the presidential election in Indiana were not surprising. The following page shows the resulting votes for each candidate running in Indiana. It is broken down by counties.

ELECTION RETURNS OF 1860 BY COUNTIES

	Hendricks	Lane	Lincoln	Douglas	Breckenridge	Bell
Adams	842	549	632	887	22	11
Allen	2,845	2,487	2,552	3,224	42	32
Bartholomew	1,866	1,736	1,769	1,846	66	31
Benton	248	5,105	375	235	6	8
Boone	1,550	1,709	1,630	941	649	47
Blackford	472	273	275	408	40	9
Brown	744	296	301	729	31	6
Carroll	1,492	1,556	1,590	1,446	5	14
Cass	1,857	1,862	1,874	1,727	130	34
Clark	1,980	1,578	1,369	1,837	250	316
Clay	1,356	862	889	1,316	47	51
Clinton	1,437	1,385	1,454	1,437	61	6
Crawford	860	841	778	844	8	42
Daviess	1,501	1,019	934	749	529	132
Dearborn	2,548	2,077	2,127	2,436	61	96
Decatur	1,672	2,063	2,028	1,946	93	20
DeKalb	1,372	1,517	1,500	1,339	2	24
Delaware	1,951	1,755	1,933	1,929	98	10
Dubois	1,437	274	301	1,347	2	20
Elkhart	2,010	2,404	2,471	1,938	27	1
Fayette	1,010	1,303	1,343	917	39	9
Floyd	1,876	1,676	1,151	1,888	96	320
Fountain	1,907	1,955	1,956	1,360	269	6
Fulton	1,073	1,030	1,019	991	22	6
Franklin	2,289	1,679	1,695	2,272	49	9
Gibson	1,580	1,273	1,298	1,545	20	112
Grant	1,213	1,568	1,668	1,223	33	46
Greene	1,518	1,372	1,420	1,316	204	20
Hamilton	1,151	2,091	2,195	1,144	98	4
Harrison	1,870	1,691	1,593	1,848	36	17
Hancock	1,399	1,148	1,201	1,289	97	13
Hendricks	1,370	2,022	2,050	1,083	244	41
Henry	1,328	2,797	2,926	1,206	90	16
Howard	807	1,518	1,589	875	35	15
Huntington	1,388	1,508	1,582	1,402	52	14
Jackson	1,725	1,083	1,185	1,740	117	36
Jasper	278	525	534	278	7	17
Jay	1,080	1,107	1,135	1,077	12	6
Jefferson	1,800	2,024	2,001	1,146	664	150
Jennings	915	1,630	1,649	830	320	42
Johnson	1,706	1,263	1,303	1,392	336	60
Knox	1,742	1,780	1,570	1,666	42	30
Kosciusko	1,457	2,192	2,200	1,560	9	3
Lagrange	750	1,021	1,095	749	10	10
Lake	540	1,098	1,225	455	20	..
Laporte	2,913	3,060	3,107	1,508	474	27
Lawrence	1,143	1,272	1,158	787	525	208
Madison	1,847	1,669	1,709	1,841	70	36
Marion	3,821	4,864	5,024	3,272	319	161
Marshall	1,348	1,372	1,426	1,473	24	2
Martin	780	528	516	679	151	56
Miami	1,673	1,855	1,835	1,608	26	..
Monroe	1,168	1,195	1,198	716	395	64
Montgomery	2,273	2,399	2,367	2,179	68	78
Morgan	1,621	1,721	1,755	1,516	62	14
Newton	248	277	305	189	44	1
Noble	1,377	1,678	1,742	1,320	38	4
Ohio	503	464	301	335	203	174
Orange	1,149	856	849	1,114	176	85
Owen	1,484	1,163	1,140	1,293	88	118
Parke	1,365	1,881	1,898	1,321	55	84
Perry	1,042	1,056	1,026	947	6	160
Pike	910	863	894	882	58	39
Porter	949	1,434	1,529	889	28	6
Posey	1,611	993	1,055	1,128	523	168
Pulaski	661	550	571	663	4	7
Putnam	1,904	1,953	1,888	1,747	361	183
Randolph	1,200	2,093	2,208	1,180	56	10
Ripley	1,610	1,900	1,988	1,458	174	37
Rush	1,668	1,742	1,757	1,119	476	35
Scott	699	662	660	447	262	52
Shelby	2,137	1,895	1,900	2,047	43	25
Spencer	1,307	1,265	1,296	1,108	172	175
Stark	295	187	100	231	14	2
St. Joseph	1,534	2,253	2,363	1,489	23	5
Steuben	626	1,390	1,560	547	82	8
Sullivan	1,875	847	856	1,858	128	55
Switzerland	1,019	1,081	734	476	499	510
Tippecanoe	2,373	3,328	3,480	2,276	117	34
Tipton	785	697	780	822	21	3
Union	711	844	840	652	36	3
Vanderburg	1,919	1,893	1,875	1,544	183	302
Vermillion	849	1,000	1,000	844	17	24
Vigo	2,341	2,437	2,429	2,127	44	211
Wabash	1,141	2,080	2,287	1,142	79	20
Warren	747	1,349	1,412	769	33	15
Warrick	1,353	639	745	784	816	85
Washington	1,944	1,354	1,378	1,988	48	31
Wayne	2,027	4,059	4,234	1,784	161	102
Wells	1,023	847	909	1,009	6	3
White	890	980	993	811	67	9
Whitley	1,091	1,098	1,133	1,067	33	4
Totals	126,908	136,725	139,033	115,509	12,294	5,306

In Indiana, Lincoln received 139,033 votes; Douglas 115,509 votes; Breckenridge, 12,294; Bell, 5,306. For Governor the vote was: Lane, 136,725 votes; Hendricks, 126,968. For Lt. Governor, Morton received 136,470 votes -- almost the same number as Lincoln!

Two people that really helped win the support of the Indiana voters for Abraham Lincoln were Henry S. Lane and Oliver P. Morton. Morton had carried the burden of the 1856 campaign for the Republicans before being beaten by the Democrat, Willard: and Morton had strong backing for renomination. Lane got support from those who insisted upon rotation and because he had gotten the support of many old-line Whigs. An agreement was worked out where Lane, who was running against Hendricks, was nominated for the Governorship with the understanding that if Republicans gained control of the legislature, they would elect him to the United States Senate and Morton would automatically succeed to the Governorship.

Most Indiana Democrats were bitter toward the Southern Democrats for splitting the party. They privately felt that the Democratic split insured a Republican victory. One upset Hoosier (Democrat) wrote, "Knowing as I do that secessionists truly represent the feelings of a large majority of the Southern Democrats, I rather hope that Lincoln may be elected. It may have the effect to learn them some sense!"

After Lincoln was elected, the Democratic papers spoke of their great disappointment, but that they had anticipated this outcome. They told how every state voted and said that "Indiana is probably Republican--but the complete results were not in yet."

The Goshen Democrat said that many Democrate didn't consider it worthwhile to vote in this election! The paper went on to say that the Democrats generally made no big effort to get their voters out on election day. Meanwhile, the Repubicans, by concerted action, got their party members out to vote. In Clinton, Indiana, and other townships where Democrats worked, the Democratic Party either maintained their ground or gained on the opposition. Another quote from this paper displaying their disappointment was:

"The demand which the South made for the protection of slavery has been answered--by the elevation to power of the Republican Party, pledged to slavery prohibition, and a general warfare as that institution of the South!"

Lincoln had nearly a 2,000 vote plurality, according to the Indianapolis Daily Journal on November 1, 1860--prior to the election. This shows that thousands of Democrats voted quietly for Lincoln in the election. The Indianapolis Daily Journal also said that the Douglas-men exerted themselves little, though they polled their full vote; and thus appeared to vote only to make a show!

Obviously, the Democratic papers' slams and accusations against Lincoln did not affect the voting results in the way they wished. In fact, it probably backfired!

Also, the split in the Democratic Party helped Lincoln gain support from Indiana voters. Lane and Morton also played an important part in getting support for Lincoln.

Consequently, on March 4, 1861, President Abraham Lincoln was able to say:

"I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States." (Abraham Lincoln).

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PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND THE 1860 AND 1864 ELECTIONS

by

Shawn Westlund

Shawn Westlund was a student at Frankton Junior High School in Frankton, Indiana, when he submitted this winning paper. His teacher was Mrs. Rodeffer.

Qualifications for Election

> "... I must, in all candor, say that I do not think of myself fit for the Presidency. I certainly am flattered, and gratified, that some partial friends think of me in that connection; but I really think it is best for our cause that no concerted effort... should be made."
>
> Abraham Lincoln, April 16, 1859

Abraham Lincoln was one of the least likely people to become President. He was born in Hodgenville, Kentucky on February 12, 1809. His boyhood was spent in the home of Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks Lincoln. His family struggled financially. They were hardly able to have enough money for a home, let alone food and clothes.

Education was a deep desire of Lincoln's. He had one year of schooling in which he learned how to read. The only book his family had was the Bible, but from time to time Lincoln was able to borrow books. One of his favorite books was Life of Washington by Parson Weems. This book gave him insight to the struggles of the nation.

Due to his family's poverty, Lincoln, at sixteen, had to go to work at the labor jobs for twenty-five cents a day. When he was only twenty, he went to work as a deck hand on a flat boat loaded with slaves. This is where his strong feelings against slavery began. He saw "Negroes" beaten and treated badly. His friend, John Hanks said,

> "... Lincoln saw it, his heart bled, said nothing much, was silent from feelings, was sad, looked bad, felt bad, was thoughtful and abstracted. I can say knowing it, that it was on this trip that he formed his opinions of slavery. It run its iron through him then and there in May 1831. I have heard him say so often and often."

The experiences that may have prepared him for the Presidency were time served in the Black Hawk War, as a member of the Illinois legislature, and as a U.S. representative from Illinois; and he was licensed to practice law in 1836. He did not have any formal college education; however, willingness to work hard and his concern for man were his two leading qualities for election.

The Dividing of the Union

> "... A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free."
>
> Abraham Lincoln, June, 1858

When Washington was President, the general feeling on the subject of slavery was that it would soon die. Many in the South were committed to abolishing slavery. As machinery developed in

harvesting, that theme died and slaves were needed for the increase in production. However, slavery was a sensitive issue in the minds of many in both the North and South.

As the country headed toward the 1860 election, the issue of slavery was not a delegate matter in the Union.

In 1859 more and more people were suggesting Lincoln's name for President. On the other hand, there was a strong group of people protesting he was "not fit to be President."

In February of 1860, Lincoln traveled to New York to make a speech. He recognized the strong division in the Union, and he addressed the issue in his speech. "The only way to please the South would be this and this only: cease to call slavery wrong, and join them in calling it right." The New York Tribune gave good reviews on his speech, which boosted his popularity in the North. The South was equally against Lincoln. As the nation continued to deepen in its division over slavery, it was clear the upcoming election would have a big effect on the touchy situation. Lincoln had made his point clear: division is weakness and something would have to happen to unify the dividing union.

Road to the White House

> "Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to endure to do our duty as we understand it."
>
> Abraham Lincoln, February 1860

The above statement is how Lincoln operated his campaign for the Presidency. He had convictions and loved his country. He loved to fulfill what he felt his duty was.

At the beginning of his campaign, he was not favored to win. There was much doubt about his potential as a candidate. He worked hard, traveling from New York to Boston to Connecticut, and then to Rhode Island in February of 1860. Everywhere he went he gave speeches, which gave him the attention he needed from the Northeast. Lincoln went to the State Republican Convention in Decatur, Illinois, on May ninth and tenth of 1860. He was greeted by many followers that nicknamed him "The Rail Splitter." This nickname gave him better attention from the delegates.

The Republican national convention followed later in May of 1860 in Chicago, Illinois. Lincoln was not present. He decided to sit it out at home. When the first ballot was taken, he lost to Senator William H. Seward one hundred seventy-three and a half votes to one hundred two votes, with Senator Salmon P. Chase of Ohio having only forty-nine votes. By the second ballot, he gained support from Pennsylvania and Indiana, and received one hundred eighty-one votes to Senator Seward's one hundred eighty-four and one half votes. Lincoln told his managers not to politic. When they saw how close the vote was, they made promises to leaders in Ohio, Indiana and Pennsylvania that if they voted for Lincoln, they would be given a Cabinet post.

After this, Lincoln had enough votes, and he won the Republican nomination for President. When Lincoln heard of the promises made by his managers, he followed through on them, even though he was warned that these men were not qualified. To Lincoln, honesty was most important in life.

The reactions to his victory were numerous. The secretary of the convention shouted, "Fire the salute! Abe Lincoln is nominated." The Cincinnati Commercial reported, "... There was cheering with energy of insanity." When Lincoln received the telegram informing him of his victory, his reply was, "Well, gentlemen, there is a little short woman at our house who is probably more interested in this than I am; and if you will excuse me, I will take it up and let her see it." After his nomination, the town of Springfield celebrated by firing one hundred guns.

While there was celebration for Lincoln, the Democrats were in confusion. On June 18, 1860, Stephen A. Douglas was nominated. The South bolted from the party and had their own convention in Baltimore. They nominated John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky for President. The Republicans were also opposed by "old time Whigs and Know-Nothings."

Lincoln was gaining popularity, but the Democratic party was in confusion. There was a three-way split within the Democratic party. This was considered an advantage for the Republicans.

It was interesting that following Lincoln's nomination, he was informed his Vice-President was, voted by the convention, to be Senator Hannibal Hamlin of Maine. Lincoln wrote the following letter to Mr. Hamlin two months after the convention:

> My dear Sir:
>
> It appears to me that you and I ought to be acquainted, and accordingly, I write this as a suit of introduction of myself to you. You first entered the Senate during the single term I was a member of the House of Representatives, but I have no recollection that we were introduced. I shall be pleased to receive a line from you.
>
> The prospect of Republican success now appears very flattering so far as I can perceive. Do you see anything to the contrary?
>
> Yours truly,
> Abraham Lincoln

The nation was on the brink of splitting, and the Presidential and Vice-Presidential nominees didn't even know one another. Lincoln didn't seem to be upset by that fact.

During the time from May to Election Day on November 6, 1860, Lincoln vowed to maintain silence. He made no speeches. He was not trying to sell himself. He was committed to the duty he felt he had before him. On one occasion he was asked to make some comments that would allay the "honesty that alarmed" people in the South, Lincoln replied:

> "There are no such men. It is the trick by which the South breaks down every Northern man. If I yielded to their entreaties, I would go to Washington without the support of the men who support me. I would be as powerless as a block of buckeye wood. The honest man will find in our platform everything that I could say now, or which they would ask me to say."

Once again we see Lincoln was a man of his word. All along the campaign trail a very honest, kind, and sensitive man was seen.

His kindness was demonstrated when he received a letter in October from a young girl, Grace Bedell, from New York. Grace suggested he would look better in a beard. Immediately he replied to her in a letter. He told her about his family and commented on her suggestion of a beard with this question: "As to the whiskers, having never worn any, do you not think people will call it a piece of silly affectation if I were to begin it now?" However, following this, he was seen with a beard. When he traveled to Washington, he stopped in New York and invited Grace Bedell to his train where he showed her his beard and gave her a kiss. Lincoln was the first President with a beard.

Election day came and there were four men on the ballot: Douglas, Breckinridge, Bell, and Lincoln. The three-way split of the Democrats really favored Lincoln. Lincoln spent most of the day in a telegraph office waiting for the outcome of the election. The final outcome was as follows:

	Popular Votes	Electoral Votes
Lincoln	1,865,593	180
Douglas	1,382,713	12
Breckinridge	848,356	72
Bell	592,906	39

Lincoln had won, but not strongly. He had an uphill battle ahead of him to unite this divided nation.

Following the election, supporters of slavery reacted strongly. Many yelled, "No 'Black Republican' was going to tell the South how it must live." Groups of people organized with military purposes in mind; one such group named themselves the "Cherokee Lincoln Killers." People said they did not want war, but the country was heading in that direction very quickly.

From the time of the election to the inauguration, the South established a new government. Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, and Texas joined together to form the Confederate States of America. Delegates from these states met in Montgomery, Alabama, to write a constitution that would clearly make slaves property. Jefferson Davis was chosen as the South's President.

The conflict continued to grow between the North and the South. President elect Lincoln now had to try and put the nation back together. As he rode by train from Illinois to Washington, at every stop he would stress his same theme: "We are not enemies, but friends."

On March 4, 1861, the whole city of Washington, D.C. was full of stress. Many threats had been made on Lincoln's life. General Winfield Scott had taken every precaution he could. They had the route that Lincoln would take to the Capitol covered with soldiers on rooftops. Also, marksmen filled every window of the Capitol that faced the inaugural stand.

Lincoln was escorted to the Inauguration by President James Buchanan. The President-elect wore a new black suit. He looked dignified and never looked ruffled, even with all the threats that were made on his life.

After taking the oath of President, he delivered his speech and said, "One section of our country believes slavery is right, and ought to be extended,". He went on to say, "while the other believes it is wrong and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute." Lincoln was always stressing the country's strengths and made as little as possible of the problems.

Trouble filled the days in the White House. There was battle after battle over territory and who would gain control of the country. Brother fought brother. It was a difficult time in the history of America.

Lincoln's Compassion and Strength

> "In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict, without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in Heaven to destroy the government, while I shall have the most solemn one to 'preserve, protect and defend it.'"
>
> Abraham Lincoln, March 4, 1861

Lincoln was committed to the United States remaining a united nation, even though the South insisted on their independence. The South had taken over many forts before Lincoln

even arrived in Washington. Lincoln demonstrated his determination for control soon after he took office. Fort Sumter in Charleston, South Carolina, still remained under Federal control. Lincoln showed his determination to govern by sending supplies to failing troops at the fort. When supplies arrived, Confederates bombarded the fort, forcing its surrender.

Thus the bloody war was on its way. Things got continually worse. On September 22, 1862, Lincoln changed his methods and came out with the Emancipation Proclamation. This was the first victory won. It was done out of compassion for slaves, not bloodshed to conquer territory. It stated, "states in rebellion to the Union would have to return back by January 1, 1863. Those who did not would receive a second proclamation declaring all slaves in these regions to be forever free."

The South reacted violently negative, but the North was overjoyed. This Proclamation touched the world. Lincoln gained support from many countries because of his humanitarian effort. One Englishman, who had suffered losses due to the cotton industry being affected by the war, wrote, he'd "stand by Lincoln no matter what sacrifices they had to make in view of the Proclamation."

Lincoln's strength was seen in his long working days. Usually he worked eighteen out of twenty-four hours. He gave himself to studying the military situation. His compassion was

demonstrated by his tenderness to children. While he worked hard and commanded hard, his children had freedom to see him. He spent hours pardoning men from death due to desertion. This was frustrating to officers, but his comment was, "... If I can find some good excuse for saving a life... I think how joyous the signing of my name will make him, and his family, and his friends."

Lincoln had enough compassion to weep with the weak, and strength enough to make commands that would better the nation but cost men their lives.

Reflection

> "With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds;..."
>
> Abraham Lincoln, March 4, 1865

Lincoln was well known and liked in the election of 1865. Due to Grant's leadership, the Union was winning many battles. Confidence in Lincoln had grown over the last four years. There were not as many names on the ballot as in 1860. The Democrats had George B. McClellan and the Republicans had President Abraham Lincoln. On Election Day, the President sat in the telegraph office of the War Department awaiting the results. Towards midnight, Lincoln knew he would carry all but Kentucky, Delaware, and New Jersey. He won two hundred twelve to twenty-one electoral votes.

On his second Inaugural Day, the weather was drizzly and overcast. When Lincoln rose to speak, the sun burst through the clouds. President Lincoln stood in the center of a sun ray, as if God was giving His approval of this man. Lincoln spoke of healing that needed to come to this great nation. Following the taking of the oath, President Lincoln stooped and kissed the Bible.

The war ended with the South's surrender on April 9, 1865. Just five days later, Lincoln was assassinated.

He lived his life to carry out his duty. This duty was to unite this great Nation and set men free from slavery. When this duty was completed, so was his life.

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LINCOLN AND THE ELECTION OF 1860

by

Jenny Kennedy

Jenny Kennedy was a student at Roncalli High School in Indianapolis, Indiana, when this winning paper was submitted. Her teacher was Mrs. Kathy Damon.

Filled with national names and well-known politicians, the election of 1860 introduced a new candidate, who had come from a relative anonymity to become a highly respected and well-loved candidate. This candidate was none other than Abraham Lincoln, who would go on to become the sixteenth president of the United States. Throughout the ensuing campaign, Lincoln proved himself to be a candidate capable of capturing support through his excellent orations and captivating personality. He also proved himself to be a champion of the common man and a leader in the fight for justice and freedom.

After losing the Illinois Senate race in 1858, Lincoln was determined not to give up his political career. He wrote to some of his Illinois colleagues, soon after the election, saying "the fight must go on." I have an abiding faith that we shall beat them in the long run. I write merely to let you know I am neither dead nor dying."[1] Even though Lincoln lost in the election, the debates helped make him a top Republican in

Illinois and brought him to the attention of national party leaders.

"Soon after the election, Lincoln was bombarded by the public with suggestions to run for the presidency."[2] Lincoln had ambivalent feelings about this though, because "he had no administrative experience, none at all, and had little love for the mundane chores that attended an executive job, such as administering the hated patronage."[3] Because of this and the noteworthiness of his would-be opponents, Lincoln felt he did not have a chance. "In his correspondence, Lincoln seemed not to covet the presidency, and with characteristic deprecation he wrote a friend that he did not think himself 'in candor' fit for it."[4] Lincoln wanted to take any office that would help the Republican cause and give him personal fulfillment. Lincoln was quoted as saying to a Republican colleague, "I still feel that my whole aspiration should be, and therefore must be, to be placed anywhere, or nowhere, as may appear most likely to advance our cause."[5]

Finally, Lincoln became convinced to run by the repeated suggestions, glorification of the position and the fact that he had been bitten by the presidential bug. In 1859, he began his campaign by gathering his 1858 speeches, which he had published and distributed. Also during the beginning of his campaign,

Lincoln wrote letters to Republican leaders on topics ranging from the Democratic party to the question of slavery. In one such letter to Republican leaders outside Illinois, he said "that local and state conventions must do nothing that would damage the party somewhere else."[6] He also said "We must all pull together and unite against the expansion and nationalization of slavery - the issue that called our party into existence."[7]

In September of 1859, Lincoln began a nationwide speaking tour in Columbus, Ohio. During the course of his speech, Lincoln denounced Stephen Douglas' latest stand on slavery. Douglas had said that the Founding Fathers had established popular sovereignty - or Congressional nonintervention - as the "standard formula for dealing with slavery in the territories."[8] Lincoln, though, brought to light some facts that Douglas neglected to mention. Douglas did not mention the Northwest Ordinance, agreed by Congress, that kept slavery out of the territories.

Lincoln's next stop was in Cincinnati where, just a few weeks before, Douglas had spoken. This time Lincoln's remarks were aimed at Democratic Kentuckians across the Ohio River. Lincoln set forth his beliefs and a warning:

> "...'I think that slavery is wrong, morally, and politically. I want to block its spread and won't object if it is gradually terminated in the whole Union.' He also added that the Republicans would 'handle their guns and beat you in a fair election...we will leave slavery alone where it already exists among you. We will remember that you are as good as we and that there are no differences between us, except those of circumstance.' Lincoln also added a warning about the absurdity of secession if the Republicans won.

> 'You are brave and gallant, but man for man, you are no braver than we are, and we outnumber you. You can't master us, and since you can't, secession and war would be the worst of follies...'"[9]

Lincoln lost no opportunity to speak in Illinois and other Midwestern states, such as Ohio and Wisconsin. His speeches there made him a favorable candidate to party leaders. He also became an attractive possibility for candidacy because he came from a crucial state, Illinois, and had no national enemies or ideological label, unlike William Seward. There was becoming an undercurrent of opposition to Seward, coupled with disloyalties and discontent over some of his issues.

On the positive side for Lincoln was the fact that the key to victory in the 1860 election depended on which candidate could carry the populous states of the lower North. Lincoln had the possibility of having a strong appeal in these "doubtful states", thanks to his Kentucky background and Illinois moorings. Another factor in Lincoln's favor was that the national convention was going to be held in Chicago, Illinois, his home state. Lincoln's next speech, which was hailed as a major Republican address, was given at Cooper Union in New York, on February 27, 1860. "Lincoln made careful preparations because he surmised, rightly, that his future hung on the outcome."[10] His audience at Cooper

Union was described by Horace Greeley as "the largest assemblage of the intellect and culture of our city since the days of Clay and Webster."[11]

Within his speech, Lincoln addressed four basic issues: those dealing with not extending slavery, Southern accusations against Republicans over the John Brown issue, the Dred Scott decision and the whole overview of events in the United States. His basic theme was to try and "analyze difficult problems in politics, answer doubts and questions about where Republicans stood."[12] These goals he achieved with a resounding success.

Though he addressed all of the issues, his main emphasis was on the issue of slavery. Lincoln clearly stated his position and the Republican position in this statement, "As those fathers marked it, so let it be again marked, an evil not to be extended, but to be tolerated and protected only because of and so far as its actual presence among us makes that toleration and protection a necessity."[13] In this statement, he was also clearly challenging Douglas' position on slavery in the territories.

Lincoln's main concern was to keep harmony and peace in the republic. He said on the controversy over the issue of slavery with the South, that "their thinking it right and our thinking it wrong, is the precise fact upon which depends the whole controversy."[14] Lincoln also begged everyone to do nothing

through passion or ill temper. He also added, "If our sense of duty forbids this, then let us stand by our duty fearlessly and effectively. Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith, let us, to the end, dare to do our duty as we understand it."[15]

Lincoln's success at Cooper Union was astounding. The New York Tribune reported that the vast assemblage frequently rang with shouts of applause. Horace Greeley was quoted as saying, "Mr. Lincoln is one of Nature's Orators. No man ever before made such an impression on his first appeal to a New York audience."[16] Noah Brooks, now totally converted to Lincoln, declared, "He's the greatest man since St. Paul."[17]

Mainly from this speech at Cooper Union, Lincoln's reputation as an orator spread widely among Northern Republicans. His triumphant speaking tour came at a strategic time, because the nominating convention was not far off. Also, Lincoln's success had a tremendous impact on Illinois Republicans. "It convinced them that he was 'presidential timber' and they found that, because of his moral principles and goals, he was the only candidate they could unite behind."[18]

After his speech at Cooper Union, Lincoln returned to Springfield. Once there, he could no longer disguise his opinion that the Presidential nomination was within his grasp, and

therefore, he gave the campaign movement his blessing. Since the nominating convention was rapidly approaching, Lincoln had no time to make a personal appeal to delegates. Lincoln had a fairly casual approach to the convention, clearly expressed in these sentences, "Our policy then is to give no offense to others. Leave them in a mood to come in if they shall be impelled to give up their first love."[19] It was at this time that Lincoln became know as the 'dark horse candidate.' "He knew his only hope was to become everybody's second choice, the candidate to whom delegates could most comfortably turn in the event the pre-convention favorites stumbled."[20]

The state Republican Convention opened on May 9, 1860, at Decatur, Illinois, to decide on a candidate for the national convention. It was on this day that Lincoln acquired the nickname "Railsplitter Candidate" from his cousin, John Hanks. Hanks brought in two rails, supposedly cut by Lincoln and himself. The rails came to represent the issue between "labor free and labor slave, between democracy and aristocracy."[21] They also gave Lincoln the ideal image of the champion of the common man. Delegates were told to vote for the "Rail-splitter Candidate" at the national convention.

Before the national convention began, the delegates assembled to decide on the Republican party's platform. The

platform was said to have stood for anything that would attract votes. A phrase of the day that reflected this was, "its platform was like a pair of suspenders, large enough for any man, small enough for any boy."[22] Though accused of too vague a platform, the Republicans stood behind five beliefs that had been the basis of the Republican party since 1854. These ideas were "the defense of the Union, prohibition of slavery in the territories, condemnation of the Dred Scott decision, support of the Homestead Act and higher tariffs."[23]

The national convention finally opened in the packed Wigwam in Chicago, Illinois, on May 16, 1860. "The candidates for nomination were Abraham Lincoln, William H. Seward, Salmon P. Chase and Edmund Bates, with William H. Seward seen as the likely candidate for nomination."[24] Before the convention, all the candidates, except Lincoln, had acquired support from delegates of the various states. Lincoln was the only candidate who went into the convention with no support outside his home state.

Lincoln's strategy was to not bother the delegates already devoted to other candidates. He wanted the delegates to come to him after deciding on their own that he was the better candidate. Lincoln's campaign managers, David Davis and Norman Judd, worked on the discontented and wavering delegates from the states such as Missouri, Ohio, Vermont, the Bay States, Indiana and

Pennsylvania. These political bosses traded, swapped and persuaded for support. Lincoln told them "I authorize no bargains and will be bound by none."[25] His campaign managers, however, paid no attention to this statement. They promised such position as a Cabinet office for Indiana, Secretary of Treasury for Cameron of Pennsylvania, and anything for Ohio if they supported Lincoln.

Lincoln knew in advance, though, that the Convention would be no walk-over, and he was not as optimistic about obtaining the nomination as his campaign managers were. But with the help of his managers' persuasiveness, and his own convictions (including his detestation of slavery, his conciliatory attitude toward the South, and his refusal to set about destroying slavery where it already existed), Lincoln was able to obtain the winning card in the crucial borderline states. Lincoln also received needed support from delegates that were discontented with Seward and opposed to some of his beliefs.

Finally, all the bargaining was done and it was time for the voting to begin. On the first ballot, Seward received 173 1/2 votes, Lincoln 102 votes, Cameron 50 1/2 votes, Chase 49 votes and Bates 48 votes. Before the second ballot, Cameron withdrew, giving more votes to Lincoln. It was at this point that the competition became mainly between Lincoln and Seward. On the

second ballot, Lincoln had 181 votes to Seward's 184 1/2, but Lincoln had obtained the support from the three critical states and had heavy support from the lower North.

On the third and final ballot, Lincoln received 231 1/2 votes, 2 1/2 short of the needed 234 for nomination. But as the votes were being counted, one of Lincoln's campaign managers promised "anything he wants"[26] to an Ohio delegate, if he convinced the Ohio delegation to support Lincoln. Suddenly, the Ohio delegation arose and said, "I arise, Mr. Chairman, to announce the change of four votes from Mr. Chase to Mr. Lincoln."[27] This pushed Lincoln over the needed mark of 234 votes. Abraham Lincoln was now the Republican nominee for President.

Upon the announcement of Lincoln's nomination, the Wigwam was immersed in total chaos and pandemonium. The delegates were exuberant over the sudden turn in events. A telegram was immediately dispatched to Lincoln, waiting in Springfield, who said, "I guess there is a little lady a home who would like to hear this news."[28]

The next day, a committee arrived in Springfield to officially congratulate Lincoln. The delegates had doubts about Lincoln, which were immediately dispelled upon meeting him. They found Lincoln to be "agreeable, respectable, conservative,

acceptable and a politician with insight, acumen and integrity."[29] One delegate even said of their choice, "Well, we might have done a more brilliant thing, but we certainly could not have done a better thing."[30]

Even though they were pleased with the choice, many delegates feared the country would not accept Lincoln, because they expected Seward. Their fears were groundless, though, because the state parties readily accepted the idea that it would not have been practical to nominate Seward. One of their basic pleas had been, "Lincoln will get all the votes that Seward would, and a great many beside."[31] Thus began Lincoln's campaign for the Presidency.

During the campaign of 1860, Lincoln stayed with the tradition of the time, which was for the candidate to refrain from campaigning on his own behalf. Lincoln said, "The time comes upon every public man when it is best for him to keep his lips closed. That time has come upon me."[32] Lincoln gave out copies of his speeches to those who wanted to talk politics. He did not believe in writing speeches or letters on issues already talked about. He proved this belief by, when once asked about his position on slavery, he replied, "I have already done this many times; and it is in print and open to all to read."[33] Also, when asked to issue statements of policy, Lincoln replied that he

was happy with the Republican platform and that he had already defined his position in his previous speeches.

Immediately following his nomination, Lincoln set up an office in he governor's room at the statehouse in Springfield, where he was kept informed of the campaign's progress. He spent his time studying letters, reading newspapers, speaking with various politicians and visiting with personal friends involved in the campaign. Lincoln also studied the platform for the campaign and noted his approval and support of it. It was during this time of the campaign that Lincoln stated that his purpose was to unite the party, preserve its identity, defend its principles and deal fairly with all.

Lincoln's inactivity during the campaign in no way hindered his chance of election. The campaign was under the control of Lincoln's competent managers, David Davis, Leonard Scott and Norman Judd, who actively campaigned throughout all the states. Lincoln was also supported by such renowned politicians, and former contenders for the Republican nomination, as William Seward and Edmund Bates. Their speeches on the support of the Republican platform helped Lincoln to win needed votes.

Even though Lincoln had been immensely popular with the delegates at the convention, he was still relatively unknown throughout the rest of the country. To help combat this, he had

a short biographical pamphlet published jointly by the Chicago Press and Tribune and the New York Tribune. By selling more than one million copies, it helped people obtain a better understanding of Lincoln and his life up to the 1856 campaign before the Lincoln-Douglas debates.

Support for Lincoln was also obtained through parties, barbeques, rallies and parades, which involved the Young Republican Wide Awakes. At these parties, speeches were given in Lincoln's behalf. The Republicans were doing everything they could for Lincoln by proclaiming his praises and demonstrating with boundless enthusiasm. They helped Lincoln to become known as a "distinctive genius of our country and its people."[34]

The Republican hope for victory lay with the split of the Democratic party, which placed Stephen A. Douglas as the candidate for the Northern Democrats and John C. Breckinridge as the candidate for the Southern Democrats. Lincoln was "widely thought to be a shoo-in because of the split in the Democratic party."[35] Lincoln himself remarked, "I hate to say it, but it really appears now as if the success of the Republican ticket is inevitable."[36] After the split within the Democratic party, observers believed Lincoln could not help but win because he was virtually alone in the North, while there were many candidates in the South.

Throughout the entire campaign, Southern speakers insisted that a Republican victory meant secession. "Lincoln thought it could have been avoided and was just an empty threat."[37] Many Southerners felt a Republican victory in 1860 "would do more than cost the slave-holding South control of the national government. It menaced, some believed, the foundations of Southern life- a system of labor and race relations based on Negro slavery."[38] Lincoln's candidacy caused discord and turmoil in the South, where they repeatedly slandered his name. Because of this discord and turmoil, ten states in the South refused to place his name on the ballot. Lincoln decided he would not compromise with the South because the election was almost in his hands.

The campaign finally arrived at election day, November 6, 1860. Lincoln awaited the election results in the Springfield telegraph office with some personal friends and colleagues. The entire day, Lincoln was in an amiable mood but showed no emotion at any of the early returns, except when he learned he carried Springfield. Even when Lincoln learned that he carried New England and the Northwest and there was a hint of a mighty Republican sway of the upper and lower North, he made no response.

Finally, the news arrived that the Republicans had been waiting for. Lincoln had won New York, practically assuring himself the victory. The Republicans went wild with excitement

and started celebrating even before Lincoln's election was confirmed. Lincoln remained at the telegraph office until he was sure of his election.

The final results in the popular vote were Lincoln-1,886,452, Douglas- 1,376,957, Breckinridge- 849,781 and Bell- 588,879. In this vote, Lincoln's opponents out-polled him by almost one million votes, but in the electoral votes, he had an absolute majority. Even if all of his opponents united votes, Lincoln would still have won enough states to give him the victory. The electoral results were Lincoln's 173 votes to Breckinridge's 72 votes, Bell's 39 votes, and Douglas' 12 votes. In the end, Lincoln wound up carrying all the Northern states except New Jersey, but he hardly won a single vote in the South.

By winning in the electoral college, Lincoln could not be labeled "'an accidental' President, who owed his victory to the split of his foes."[39] The calculations of those who chose Lincoln as a standard-bearer had been fully justified. Abraham Lincoln's overall victory in the election of 1860 was one that involved not just the triumph of his party, but also the triumph of free government and the cause of liberty.

ENDNOTES

1. Stephen B. Oates, With Malice Toward None (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1977), p. 161.

2. Lord Longford, Abraham Lincoln (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1975), p. 74.

3. Oates, pp. 161-162.

4. Jean H. Baker, Mary Todd Lincoln - A Biography (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1987), p. 157.

5. Ralph Geoffrey Newman (editor), Abraham Lincoln - His Story in His Own Words (New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1970), p. 51.

6. Oates, p. 163.

7. Oates, p. 163.

8. Oates, pp. 164-165.

9. Stephen B. Oates, Abraham Lincoln - The Man Behind The Myths (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1984), pp. 76-77.

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12. James Daugherty, Abraham Lincoln (New York: Viking Press, 1951), p. 93.

13. Herbert Mitgang, The Fiery Trail - A Life of Lincoln (New York: The Viking Press, 1974), p. 53.

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15. Oates, With Malice Toward None, pp. 171-173.

16. Mitgang, p. 57.

17. Olivia Coolidge, The Apprenticeship of Abraham Lincoln (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1974), p. 188.

18. Oates, With Malice Toward None, pp. 174-175.

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20. Harold Holzer, Galor S. Boritt and Mark E. Neely Jr., The Lincoln Image - Abraham Lincoln and the Popular Print (New York: The Scribner Press, 1984), p.9.

21. Longford, p.77.

22. William B. Hesselstine, Lincoln and the War Governors (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1948), p. 56.

23. Longford, p. 85.

24. Mitgang, p. 63.

25. Coolidge, p. 203.

26. Longford, p. 80.

27. Mitgang, p. 67.

28. Baker, pp. 161-162.

29. Hesselstine, p. 65.

30. Longford, p. 80.

31. Hesselstine, pp.62-63.

32. Daugherty, p. 99.

33. Archer H. Shaw, The Lincoln Encyclopedia (New York: The Mac Millan Company, 1950), p. 34.

34. Oates, With Malice Toward None, pp. 185-186.

35. Holzer, p. 28.

36. Oates, With Malice Toward None, p. 184.

37. Oates, With Malice Toward None, p. 184.

38. JamesA. Rawley, The Politics of Union (Illinois:Dryden Press, 1974), p. 7.

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ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND THE ELECTION OF 1860

by

Jennifer Anne Maude

Jennifer Anne Maude was a student at Roncalli High School in Indianapolis, Indiana, when she submitted this winning paper. Her teacher was Mrs. Kathy Damon.

> His mind was full of tender sensibilities, and he was extremely humane, yet while attributes were fully developed in his character, and, unless intercepted by his judgment, controlled him, they never did control him contrary to his judgment.[1]

This description on Abraham Lincoln by Leonard Swett, one of Lincoln's closest colleagues, is one with which many people agree. By continuing to strive for peace and unity throughout the Union, Lincoln became one of the greatest men ever elected to the Presidency of the United States. After being elected as President in 1860 and facing the great crisis of secession and Civil War, he proved to the divided nation and to the world how powerful the idea of democracy was then. The circumstances which lead up to the sixteenth presidential election affected and, in part, caused the Civil War.

On February 12, 1809, Abraham Lincoln was born to Thomas and Nancy Hanks Lincoln, in "Sinking Spring Farm," Kentucky. With both parents and his sister, Sarah, Lincoln moved to Pidgeon Creek Farm in Indiana in 1817. Their lives were changed dramatically with the death of his mother in 1818. When Sarah

Bush Johnston married Lincoln's father, one of the major influences in Lincoln's childhood had come into his life. Bringing many books to her new home, she taught the children to read, and they became somewhat educated. Lincoln had great respect for his stepmother and continued to visit her throughout his life.

After moving to Illinois, Lincoln, being a very energetic and motivated youth, traveled down the Mississippi River to New Orleans in 1838. A slave auction, which he supposedly saw while there, had a great impact on young Lincoln.[2] The idea of human beings being auctioned off as animals seriously influenced Lincoln. From that time on he totally rejected the idea of slavery.

While Lincoln was growing to adulthood, many developments within the new nation itself occurred. Though before the birth of Lincoln, the Louisiana Purchase of 1803 had a lasting effect on Lincoln's life because of the controversy surrounding the new territories stemming from it, and the issue of slavery. Throughout these national developments, Lincoln became involved in current politics.

Although Lincoln's first real hope of presidential nomination developed around the time of the debates with Douglas in 1858, many other factors shaped and formed his views on

certain issues and had a basis which he often referred to and developed ideas from. His first internal politics was in the Whig Party, which was led by Henry Clay. The platform of the Whigs was one of high tariffs, a national bank, and internal improvements, all of which Lincoln strongly supported.

Running on the ticket as a Whig for the Illinois House of Representatives in 1832, Lincoln was defeated. Although he was not very well-known at the time, he still had taken the risk and run. This defeat was the only time Lincoln lost an election by direct vote in his life.

In 1834, Lincoln ran for the Illinois House of Representatives again, this time as a representative from New Salem. Having been appointed the Postmaster of New Salem by Andrew Jackson, Lincoln thought his chances of winning the election were good because of the support given him by the townspeople. He won the election and continued to occupy the position until 1842. At the beginning of his terms, he started studying law on his own, and was eventually given a license to practice in Illinois in 1837. One of his friends once said of his legal abilities, "His power of comparison was large, and he rarely failed in a legal discussion to use that mode of reasoning."[3]

John T. Stuart was Lincoln's partner until 1841, when Stuart had been elected to the Congress and had little time for the partnership. Lincoln's next partner was Judge Stephen T. Logan, who was to have given Lincoln the "most thorough and constructive training in the law,"[4] that he was ever to have. However, in 1844, Logan wished to go into practice with his son, and Lincoln then became partners with William H. Herndon. Their friendship was to last until Lincoln's death in 1865, and Herndon has been quoted as saying, "Our partnership was never legally dissolved until the night of his assassination."[5]

Between the years 1840 and 1844, Lincoln was a state elector. Then, in 1846, Lincoln won, "by the largest majority by which the district had ever been carried,"[6] the seat to the House of Representatives in the United States Congress. Being the only Whig from Illinois, he was often opposed, especially when going against the Polk administration and, in particular, when he attacked Polk's rationale for invading Mexico. His term in the House did not show much evidence of his ambition or potential, but his first views concerning slavery, its expansion, the politics of an administration, and many others, had begun to form.

Lincoln was elected to the Eighth Judicial Circuit Court of Illinois in 1847, which gave him much of the experience he would

need later in his life. Three of his most important advisers during his campaign for the presidency, Leonard Swett, Jesse Fell, and David Davis, met Lincoln on the traveling court.

As the Whig party was dying out, Lincoln, with his great passion for the law and politics, became involved in another party that was developing rapidly. At the first national convention of the "Republicans", as they called themselves, in 1856, Lincoln had one of the leadership roles. The party was made up of several smaller groups, such as the Whigs, some abolitionists, the Nebraska Democrats, and the "Know-Nothings." Lincoln's "Lost Speech" was given at this convention and soon everyone know that this man was a leader. Because of its new ideas and firm stand on the issue of slavery, the "Lost Speech" became very popular. John C. Fremont was the presidential nominee and William L. Dayton was the vice-presidential nominee. Lincoln has almost beaten Dayton for the vice-presidential nomination, which was surprising. Lincoln had a different attitude toward politics and his ideas were not as well known until his "Lost Speech". It was at this convention, though, that Lincoln first considered the senatorial race in 1858, and possibly the bid for the presidency in 1860. His colleagues encouraged him to seriously consider the senatorial bid. Because of his desire to make his ideas known and the obvious support from the Republican Party, Lincoln entered the race in 1858.

"Slavery is strikingly peculiar in this, that it is the only good thing which no one seeks the good of for himself."[7] This statement, along with many others, was made by Lincoln during the course of the debates he had with Senator Stephen Douglas in 1858. As a means of strategy, Lincoln invited Douglas to a number of debates around Illinois, scheduling each in a different city. Lincoln once described the debates as "the successive acts of a drama to be enacted not merely in the face of audiences like this, but in the face of the nation, and, to some extent, in the face of the world."[8] Knowing how important these debates were to be, Lincoln developed a strong platform and often appeared to be the better candidate of the two. Wanting the support of both the northern and southern Democrats, Douglas tried to make his ideas appealing to all the people, often times changing the issue of pleasing the groups which he was addressing at the time. The platform Lincoln used in the 1858 election would be the basis for the presidential one.

"Of all the damned Whig rascals about Springfield, Abe Lincoln is the ablest and most honest,"[9] was said by Douglas prior to the senatorial race. His anxiety was also expressed when he had assured some of his colleagues that he would rather "meet any other man in this country, in this joint-debate, than Abraham Lincoln."[10] The effects of the debates were tremendous.

Lincoln gained even more national recognition, due in part to his speeches that, "will become landmarks in our political history...."[11] "The great secret of his power as an orator, in my judgment, lay in the clearness and perspicuity of his statements,"[12] was one historian's opinion of Lincoln's talent. Lincoln himself had once said that he was, "determined to be so clear that no honest man can misunderstand me, and no dishonest one can successfully misrepresent me."[13]

After the debates, as it has been called, "the tangled weave of the awesome rivalry,"[14] the election was held, and Lincoln was defeated by a very close margin. Yet, he was now more popular than ever. He was then advised by his colleagues to seriously consider the presidential candidacy in 1860. Surrounded by Swett, Fell, and Davis, Lincoln was well guided and decided to run.

As the campaign for the Republican nomination began, Lincoln planned out a vigorous schedule. His advisers knew of the differences between the North and the South, and needed to determine from where Lincoln's support could be obtained. But, the first step must be the nomination from the Republican Convention.

Many important men in the Republican Party had a chance for the nomination for president. Among them was William Seward, a senator from New York. Being the recognized leader of the

Republicans, Seward was expected to get the nomination; yet he had antagonized many people with his "higher law" position from his earlier career. Another possibility, but one not as popular, was Salmon Chase, a senator from Ohio. Swett and some of Lincoln's advocates knew of the need to compromise and negotiated with the other leaders to ensure Lincoln's nomination. Many "deals" had been made with the other possible nominees, some without the consent of Lincoln. These included the promise of cabinet positions, as well as other positions in the administration. The support of the other party members was needed, and proved to be a deciding factor. Though nothing was definite, when Lincoln was nominated many things were assumed.

One of the most important people in Lincoln's life was his wife, Mary Todd Lincoln. Married in 1842 in Springfield, the Lincolns were a compatible couple with complementary personalities and like characteristics. She was one of the greatest influences in Lincoln's life and encouraged him in politics. She was a driving force behind her husband and had many goals for Lincoln's political career. With Lincoln being a jovial man who often told stories in order to keep a mood light and get across a moral, there were often critics. Mary Todd Lincoln always defended her husband, as did he with her, and their great love for each other was obvious. Throughout Lincoln's presidency, she was a staunch supporter and involved in his ideas.

After his official nomination in 1860 at the Republican convention, his campaign was well under way. Being supported by the other Republicans, Lincoln developed ideas about many of the issues facing the presidential campaign of 1860. Beginning with the Declaration of Independence, the great conflict that was to endure for over eighty years had begun with the refusal of the "Founding Fathers" to address the issue of slavery.

Most of the northern states had banned slavery as an institution, but the South needed slaves to keep the economy going, because of its dependency on the cotton industry. Because of these economical differences, many hostilities arose between the North and the South. Industry boomed in the North, while life in the South remained stable. When states were being admitted into the Union (referred to as such until the Civil War), a balance between the number of slave and free states had to be kept in order to prevent serious repercussion.

An example of the many issues which came into discussion in Congress is the tariffs coming in from foreign countries. The economical differences became even more obvious when the North wanted to protect its industries from competition. The South, however, needed the trade for cotton to keep its economy going. This caused several problems; an example being Andrew Jackson's confrontation with South Carolina in 1831-1832. Many compromises were written, but none really solved the problem; the compromises just put it aside.

Some of the issues that were recently new to the country and its upcoming presidential election were controversial and highly disputed. When Harriet Beecher Stowe wrote Uncle Tom's Cabin in 1852, a momentum of abolition movements had started in the North, due to the life of a slave described in the book. John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry, Virginia, in 1859, also caused an uproar in both the North, which praised him as a martyr, and the South, condemning his actions. Compromises were made, such as the Kansas-Nebraska Act, but these led to more controversy.

When the Republicans had their convention in May, they had nominated Lincoln and the chances of a future Republican administration in the presidential office were greater, because of Lincoln's charismatic personality and popularity. Before Lincoln had been officially nominated by the Republican convention, the greatest concern had been with the Democratic convention. When the Democrats had their national convention in April, 1860, there were divisions within the party concerning the platform position on slavery. The result was the wrenching apart of the Democratic party. The candidate for the Northern Democrats was Stephen Douglas, Lincoln's former opponent; John Breckinridge of Kentucky was the candidate from the South. Another candidate, John Bell, was nominated from the Constitutional Union Party, a new party that was somewhat conservative and based upon the defense of the Constitution.

As the election approached, tensions were high and no one was really sure what the outcome would be. Douglas had been campaigning heavily in the North, Breckinridge in the South, Bell in the South and parts of the North. Lincoln left the campaigning up to the party members, because he felt it was more important that people judge him on his ideas rather than his campaigning skill. In fact, he had never met his Vice-Presidential candidate, but he had written Hannibal Hamlin a friendly note.[15]

On November 6, 1860, the people of the United States went to the polls and the future of the nation was decided. Lincoln had 1,866,452 votes, (even more remarkable considering that Lincoln had even been kept off most of the southern ballots), Douglas with 1,376,957, Breckinridge with 849,781, and Bell with 588,879. Lincoln ended up carrying all the free states in the electoral college - except for New Jersey, which split three for Lincoln and seven for Douglas. Although Lincoln had the majority of electoral votes, Douglas did have many of the popular votes. With Lincoln earning 180 votes, Douglas had twelve electoral votes (the three from New Jersey) and nine from Missouri. Breckinridge had seventy-two votes, carrying all of the South except for Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, which Bell had taken with thirty-nine votes.[16] When the results were officially announced, the effects were immediate.

The South had been concerned over the fact that Lincoln had good chances of winning the election. Many southerners were anxious for the outcome. When it was announced, things fell into place and the South took action. Lincoln was the new President-elect; he did not take office until March, 1861.

So, the South took advantage of his lack of position. Led by South Carolina on December 20, 1860, the southern states seceded from the United States and formed the Confederate States of America on February 8, 1861. With Jefferson Davis as their President, they formed their own nation and broke all ties with the Union. The states that seceded prior to Lincoln's inauguration were Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia, and Texas, with Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee after Fort Sumter. As time went on, last ditch compromises, such as the Crittenden Compromise, failed and tensions mounted. Now this great crisis was to lie in the hands of the new President, Abraham Lincoln.

Abraham Lincoln was one of the greatest presidents that the United States has ever had. "...with malice toward none and charity for all..."[17] and "Let us strive to finish the work we are in,"[18] are examples of Lincoln's unselfishness, kindness, determination, and all of the other characteristics of Lincoln's personality that made him the great man he was. Never during the

course of the Civil War did he let his responsibilities go or shirk from the duties that were present everywhere. "War with him was simply a necessity for the sake of peace,"[19] was his attitude toward the war itself.

The entire history of the United States was altered due to that one presidential election in 1860. Little did that distinguished man know that he would be one of the most revered and respected people ever to lead the United States - in war or peace. The nation he strove so hard to defend and protect, the war he fought and hated, was bound up - for him - in the great principles he spoke in his Gettysburg address: "and that, government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."[20]

NOTES

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LINCOLN AND THE 1860 ELECTION

by

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Julie S. Nelson was a student at Anderson High School in Anderson, Indiana, when she submitted this winning paper. Her teacher was Miss Barbara Lumbis.

America is not typically known for violent, dramatic elections, such as those which occur in many Third World countries, but the election of 1860 was different. The election in which Abraham Lincoln was elected for his first presidential term was very dramatic. In fact, the conduct of the 1860 campaigns made the secession of the Southern states and then the Civil War inevitable.

The election of 1860 was not merely an isolated period of conflict but was the end result of many years of heated debate over a very controversial topic. The topic was slavery, and the leaders, as well as the citizens, of America had been concerned about it since the early years of our country. By the middle of the 1800's, America reached a point at which the issue of slavery could no longer be ignored. The settlers of the Northwest Territory, as well as some of the lands in the Louisiana Purchase, wanted to be granted statehood. It had to be decided which, if any, of the new states would permit slavery.

Congress passed several compromises, such as the Missouri Compromise of 1820 and the Compromise of 1850, in addition to passing several other acts, including the Wilmot Proviso and the Kansas-Nebraska Act, attempting to keep a balance between free and slave states. However, this scheme never permanently settled the issue. Each time a new area proposed statehood, the whole issue was debated again.

People everywhere were very certain about what the correct answer to the slavery issue was. Most Southerners, even those who did not own slaves themselves, wanted slavery to remain legal. After all slavery was at the very core of the Southern way of life. As far as they could see, there was nothing wrong with the practice. However, most Northerners were opposed to slavery. In the New England states, as well as elsewhere, people were opposed for religious reasons. Others did not like slavery because it tarnished America's image abroad, and still others wished to have as little to do with blacks as possible.[1] Two states, Indiana and Illinois, went as far as to seek constitutional bans against blacks moving into their states.

Clearly, there were strong opinions on both sides, and with the issue reappearing in Congress every few years for discussion, the divisions among the American people grew beyond the point of effective compromise solutions. Congress simply kept making

temporary agreements and putting off the time when a real decision would be made. The indecisiveness of the Congress clearly was a major factor in the coming of the Civil War.

A number of events made the gap between the North and the South even more pronounced. Included in this listing are the violence in Kansas after the Kansas-Nebraska Act was passed, the caning of Charles Sumner in the United States Senate, and John Brown's raid at Harper's Ferry. The widespread influence of Harriet Beecher Stowe's book, Uncle Tom's Cabin, also had a large effect upon the growth of hostile feelings between the two sections. By the time of the election of 1860, the South was ready to carry out the threat they had also made, but never carried out, in the 1856 election. If Lincoln were elected, influential Southerners made it clear that the South would secede.[2]

The candidates, or rather the number of candidates, running in the election of 1860 reflected the turmoil present in the country at this time. Four candidates were nominated to run for office: Abraham Lincoln, Stephen A. Douglas, John C. Breckinridge, and John Bell. At this point in American history, political parties were not nearly as well-established as they are now, or even as they had been in the years preceding this election. With ideas and situations changing as rapidly as they

were over the slavery issue, people needed a political party which supported their particular views. People were, in general, either pro-slavery or anti-slavery, but there were a multitude of ideas concerning how either extreme was to be handled. Consequently, political parties were founded and then disappeared within a relatively short period of time.

In the 1850's America witnessed the decline of one of our original political parties, the Whig party. By the election of 1860, the Whigs were little more than a memory in the minds of Americans. The other traditional party, the Democratic Party, still thrived but was suffering from severe internal rifts caused by friction between the Northern and Southern factions. The focus of the internal divisions rested upon the candidacy of Stephen Douglas who was not only opposed by most Southern delegates but also by the supporters of President James Buchanan. Prior to the convention a number of Buchananites traveled throughout the South stirring up these anti-Douglas sentiments which became most evident in Charleston.[3] At that party convention in 1860, the delegates from eight southern states actually left the convention and were joined by several other states when the convention readjourned a month later in Baltimore. The Southern group then called their own convention and nominated a candidate more consistent with the values of Dixie.

After nine weeks, two national conventions, and fifty-nine ballots, Douglas was nominated at Baltimore as the candidate of the Democratic Party.[4] He had served for many years in various public offices but had gained most of his fame from the seventeen years he had spent in Congress, which included service in both houses. The "Little Giant," as he was called, received the support of President Buchanan until they had a falling out over the issue of popular sovereignty in Kansas. Douglas was the chief supporter of the Kansas-Nebraska Act.

By this time, the Republican party was fairly well-established, having been in existence for six years. Their electoral successes between 1856 and 1860 had given them a solid base of support throughout the North. The fourth major party which nominated a presidential candidate was the Constitutional Union party, composed of former Whigs and Know-Nothings.

The Republican candidate, Lincoln, was a self-educated lawyer who had been virtually unknown outside his state until his unsuccessful campaign against Douglas for a U.S. Senate seat Illinois in 1858. Because of this unsuccessful candidacy, Allen Nevins states: "...most literate Americans had read at least some fragments of his speeches, (but) of the man himself the vast majority of Easterners and Southerners knew nothing."[4] This former Whig was selected as the Republican candidate at the party

convention in Chicago chiefly because he was more conservative in nature and more acceptable to the range of party members than his chief opponent, William H. Seward. At this point, the Republicans were still harboring the vain hope that their candidate might gain unified national support.[5]

John Breckinridge was nominated by the Southern faction of the Democrats, mainly because he gained the support of the Southern secessionists. This support was earned in part as a result of his service in the Buchanan administration as Vice-President. It is interesting to note that Breckinridge was, at the time of his nomination, also serving as Senator-elect from Kentucky and as Vice-President of the United States.[6] Although he supported the secessionists, Breckinridge himself was a moderate.

The Constitutional Union party nominated John Bell of Tennessee. Bell had served under the Harrison and Tyler administrations as Secretary of War until he resigned when his party, the Whigs, quarreled with President Tyler. Bell also had served in the Senate and was exceedingly well-regarded in his community.[7] Although he was a large slave-holder and despised abolitionists, Bell was not excessively pro-slavery. Some observers even claimed that he would not have been a bad Presidential choice for the Republicans.[8]

Despite what one might expect, the campaign of 1860 was relatively quiet, and much quieter than the previous presidential campaign. This situation developed for several reasons. Since basically four political parties were in competition for the presidency, there was a constant effort to forge alliances in various states. No single, clear-cut issue separated any two of the parties in most regions. In addition, the Republican party had lost its newness and was far better established than it had been in 1856.[9]

All four parties had busy headquarters during the election, for with such a large number of candidates, detailed strategies were necessary. Since most of the candidates did little actual campaigning, eventual victory rested largely with newspapers which were under the influence of certain parties. Because of the difficulty involved in campaigning over any large area, newspapers were the primary means by which most people received news of the candidates.

The campaign strategy of the Republicans was probably the least complicated of all. Their main objective was to carry the North and East, for they saw that there was little chance that they would gain popular support in the South. Lincoln's better-known speeches were widely distributed in the North through Republican party brochures and in sympathetic newspapers. The

"House Divided" and Cooper Institute speeches as well as some of his statements in the Freeport debate contained the bulk of the ideas which most Northerners associated with Lincoln. Republican campaign strategists did much to emphasize Lincoln's humble beginnings and his folk hero image. Their papers portrayed him as "a Man of the People, raised by his own genius and integrity from the humblest to the highest position, having made for himself an honored name as a lawyer, an advocate, a popular orator, a statesman, and a Man."[10] The Democrat papers used Lincoln's background to his disadvantage, scorning his "Hoosier style of living," his gauche manners, and his essential ignorance.[11]

Lincoln's conduct of the campaign was limited largely to staying in Springfield where he met regularly with visitors from across the nation. He made no major speeches. William Cullen Bryant gave the following advice early in the campaign:

> The people have nominated you without any pledges or engagements of any sort; they are satisfied with you as you are, and they want you to do nothing at present but allow yourself to be elected. The vast majority of your friends want you to make no speeches, write no letters as a candidate, enter into no pledges, make no promises, nor even give any of those kind words which men are apt to interpret into promises.[12]

Lincoln appears to have followed this advice very closely.

The direction of Lincoln's campaign was left almost entirely to a national committee under the direction of E.D. Morgan.[13] The campaign was operated out of the governor's office at the Illinois State House, where Lincoln accepted visitors of all sorts, who were curious about this much talked of candidate. These people were impressed with the unpretentious, down-to-earth manner in which the candidate accepted them. He seemed to never tire of speaking to his public, the people he, hopefully, would someday represent. His friends were astonished by his proficiency in handling large numbers of visitors, while not becoming impatient or bored.

This low-level style of campaigning appears to have had a positive effect in foreign countries, as well as in the North. By placing emphasis upon Lincoln's speeches in the newspapers, his views became evident and very widely known. The London Critic stated:

> We collect from the speeches of Mr. Lincoln that he has the mind of the straightforward rather than the subtle order; that he seizes upon great and prominent facts and argues them to plain conclusions that build up elegant but fragile theories...; that he is earnest more than passionate, and persuasive more than commanding. Indeed every one of his speeches which we have read bears upon it evidence that he is 'Honest Old Abe.'[14]

While Lincoln's campaign strategy had a positive effect on the North and abroad, it had a very different impact on the South. Even before his nomination, South Carolinians, among others, were wary of the possibility of a Republican President.

Ollinger Crenshaw states:

> South Carolinians were not alone in the solemn assurance that if the detested 'black' Republicans should gain power in the presidential election, the Union was at an end. These warnings were heard long before the clans began to gather for the several national party conventions in the spring of 1860.[15]

However, dire predictions of this sort had been heard before, as previously mentioned. The Republicans, therefore, paid little or no heed to the rebellious cries. They believed that a concentrated effort to allay the fears of the South would result in a decrease of support in the North, their strongest area. When Southern alarm grew to the extent that it could not be ignored, in the summer of 1860, Lincoln still refused to respond. After his repeated statements that he would not molest slavery in the South, he believed that a new statement from him would make him appear to be uncertain and weak. He stated, "Why do not uneasy men read what I have already said? and what our platform says? If they will not read, or heed these, would they read or heed a repetition of them?"[16]

While Lincoln ignored the South's questions, his opponent, Douglas, did not. In the face of his party's division, he engaged in what was the most vigorous campaigning America had seen up to that time. Douglas did far more campaigning than any of his opponents, visiting all sections of the country and speaking two and three times a day. Although he maintained this vigorous pace of campaigning until the election, the "Little Giant" acknowledged in the middle of the campaign the futility of ever actually winning the election, because of the split within

his party. For the remainder of the campaign, he devoted his time to speaking to Southerners, in hopes of convincing them to preserve the Union. Instead of concentrating on the border states, which had always been his strength, Douglas instead appealed to unfriendly crowds of secessionists. He recognized that the election would almost absolutely assure that Lincoln would be the next President, and he warned Southern audiences that this outcome would not warrant secession. On October 19, in Saint Louis, he announced, "I am not here to ask your votes for the Presidency. I am here to make an appeal to you in behalf of the Union and the peace of the country."[17]

Lincoln regarded Douglas' Southern tour as an attempt to gain party unity, for he was never convinced of the eventuality of Southern secession. His supporters, however, did attempt to respond to the strategy of the Southern politicians, which was focused on throwing the election into the House of Representatives. One of these Lincolnites, David Dudley Field, warned against chaos in Congress if this should occur. He argued, "You must choose between Mr. Lincoln and the dangers and chances of a struggle in Congress, with its uncertain issues."[18] Ollinger Crenshaw believes, however, that had the election been determined by the House, Lincoln still would have won.[19]

Whatever the effect of the various campaigns on the American electorate, the Republicans garnered 1,866,452 votes compared to Douglas's 1,375,157 votes, which came within 60,000 votes of surpassing Breckinridge and Bell's total. Nevertheless, it was the electoral vote which determined the final outcome of the election of 1860. The Republicans received 180 of the votes compared to Breckinridge's 72, Bell's 39, and Douglas's 12. Abraham Lincoln would be the sixteenth American President.[20]

Despite the fact that Republican handling of the South increased the already present animosities, Lincoln had won the respect of most other Americans. This would prove useful in the trying years to come. Had his strategy responded more directly to Southern concerns, it is likely that Lincoln may have undermined his level of support in the North. Furthermore, with the history of growing animosity in the South, it is unlikely that the "black" Republican nominee would have been fully successful in redirecting attitudes toward secession.

ENDNOTES

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2. Allan Nevins, The Emergence of Lincoln. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950, p. 273.

3. Damon Wells, Stephen Douglas: The Last Years, 1857-1861. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1971, p. 211-12.

4. Nevins, p. 273.

5. Boorstin and Kelley, p. 267.

6. Wells, p. 239.

7. Ollinger Crenshaw, The Slave States in the Presidential Election of 1860. Glouchester, Massachusetts: Peter Smith, 1969, p. 24.

8. Ibid., p. 29.

9. Ibid.

10. Nevins, p. 272.

11. Ibid., p. 274.

12. Ibid., p. 275.

13. Ibid., p. 278.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid., p. 277.

16. Crenshaw, p. 59.

17. Nevins, p. 278.

18. Wells, p. 252-53.

19. Crenshaw, p. 70.

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21. Wells, p. 256.

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ABRAHAM LINCOLN: WESTERNER TO PRESIDENT

by

James Anthony Rechtin

James Anthony Rechtin was a student at Roncalli High School in Indianapolis, Indiana, when he submitted thiswinning paper. His teacher was Mrs. Kathy Damon.

Few names can trigger a feeling of wonder and awe in the hearts and minds of a population a hundred years after they have been etched in a gravestone. One of those few names, though, belongs to a great politician of the 1800's-- Abraham Lincoln. Children associate his name with honesty; adults see him as the "Creat Emancipator." In reality, Abraham Lincoln was a much simpler, yet much more complex, man and certainly a much greater man than these words imply. Abraham Lincoln possessed what many believe to be one of the greatest political minds in human history. He had keen foresight and an understanding of public opinion that few men can hope to equal. The true greatness of Abraham Lincoln's political ability can be seen in his presidential campaign and election of 1860, as he rose in barely two years from a backward westerner to President of the United States.

Lincoln was born into a family plagued with poverty and hardship on a failing Kentucky farm. Though he received little formal schooling and saw little of politics in his early life, it was these years that set the mold of a successful politician.

In his new home in Indiana, Lincoln grew under the influence of his new step-mother, Sarah Bush Johnston, into a young man with strong morals and the ability to read and write. It was also in these years that Lincoln experienced the real world. On a trading trip down the Mississippi River, Lincoln witnessed a slave auction— a sight which would dictate the course of his life.

In 1830, when Lincoln was twenty-one, he helped his family move to Illinois and then struck out on his own in New Salem. At first Lincoln struggled with a bankrupt grocery, unprofitable tavern and a defeat in an election for state representative. Soon, though, he entered politics more seriously and found success.

In the 1830's Lincoln was elected to four terms in the state legislature. During this time he began to practice law and married Mary Todd, his support and strength in later years. In 1846 Abraham Lincoln was elected to the U.S. Congress, where he introduced the "Spot Resolutions," part of a campaign against the war with Mexico. These resolutions cost him almost all public and political support, as well as renomination as a Whig candidate to Congress in 1848. Lincoln's political career seemed to have ended as quickly as it had begun.

During the next six years Abraham Lincoln retreated from the political scene and concentrated on his law practice. Though Lincoln was fairly quiet, politics in general were heating up throughout the nation. A number of events opened questions that

would eventually lure Lincoln back to the political scene and encourage his quest for the presidency.

Most prominent of these events was the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, sponsored by Senator Stephen Douglas, in 1854. This act proposed that Kansas and Nebraska be opened for statehood and that the issue of slavery be decided by popular sovereignty-- a vote by the citizens of the territory requesting statehood. More importantly, though, it repealed the Missouri Compromise and reopened the debate on slavery in the territories. Douglas had believed that Northerners would settle Nebraska, and Southerners would settle Kansas and the balance between slave and free states would be maintained. The plan backfired when hordes of Northern abolitionists settled in Kansas causing feuds, political fraud and even bloody riots between pro-slavery an anti-slavery supporters. In 1857 fuel was added to the political fire when Chief Justice Roger Taney ruled that slaves were property and protected by the Fifth Amendment, even in free territories. This ruling, called the Dred Scott decision, was perceived as eventually threatening the freedom of the northern states.

Though Abraham Lincoln did not run for President until 1860, it was in 1856 that he began to show the wisdom and political acumen which would eventually lead to the White House. Lincoln spoke occasionally through 1854 and 1855, but it was a speech in Bloomington on May 29, 1856, that truly marked his return to politics. At a Republican convention in this Illinois city,

Lincoln spoke with force and conviction against the institution of slavery. It was:

> "Lincoln's... shrewdness in stepping forward at the exact moment when a Republican federation was needed that established him as the leading man of a party with far more political possibilities than Illinois Whiggery."[1]

Two years after the Republican party of Illinois was established at the Bloomington convention, Abraham Lincoln became their candidate for Senator. Though his purposes in this campaign were not directed toward this goal, the 1858 Senatorial election set up Abraham Lincoln's presidential nomination campaign. This election campaign against the famous Stephen Douglas was Lincoln's first step towards the presidency.

Most people throughout the nation expected the election to be a landslide. In the eyes of the public, the popular Douglas could not be threatened by a yet unknown politician named Abraham Lincoln. In a series of seven debates Lincoln turned a landslide into a competitive election and, more importantly, established himself as a capable politician.

Throughout the debates one issue dominated the discussion--slavery. Lincoln attacked his opponent's support of the Dred Scott decision and Douglas' theory of popular sovereignty, which seemed to contradict each other. Lincoln stated that the Dred Scott decision made popular sovereignty unconstitutional. To prevent losing Northern support, Douglas introduced the Freeport Doctrine. This doctrine basically said that popular sovereignty could be upheld, even under the Dred Scott decision, if people

did not pass slave codes. Though this pacified most Northerners, it threw many Southerners in rage.

> "...It is often said that it was this Freeport answer which cost Douglas southern support in 1860 and ruined his chance for the presidency. Indeed, it has been suggested that Lincoln had this precise effect in mind."[2]

Abraham Lincoln lost the election by a narrow decision, but the effects of his campaign would eventually prove to favor the Republican party and himself and aid in their quest for the presidency in 1860. First,it destroyed Stephen Douglas' southern support and weakened his northern support. It also catapulted Lincoln into the national spotlight and proved his ability as a speaker and politician.

> After the debates...it was remarked that Lincoln...awoke and found himself famous. ...He had reached a point where every word he said had to be carefully weighed for its effect upon both his own fortunes and upon those of his party.[3]

Finally, the campaigning began to establish a definite platform for the Republican party, with their most important position being that on the extension of slavery. "Lincoln... denied (being an abolitionist). 'I have no purpose, either directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery where it exists.'"[4] This statement won the support of many moderates who had lost faith in Douglas, yet still projected the Republicans as the abolitionist's best hope.

After the defeat in 1858 Abraham Lincoln's focus changed to the presidential election. At first his main goal was to strengthen the position of the Republican party, not his own

place within it. It appeared to Lincoln that the Republican party had an excellent chance of putting a candidate into the White House, but at this time his own name on a presidential ballot lingered only in the back of his mind.

On a tour of the Midwest Lincoln began to see many Republican leaders turing to him for advice. He also saw that small groups in different areas of the country were stating contradicting political beliefs, all under the Republican banner. Lincoln used his newly found influence to begin to set a definite platform for the Republican party. In a letter to a fellow Republican leader, "he warned... that local Republican groups ought to make no declaration that could not safely be generalized as the position of the whole party."[5] He saw that these factions threatened the unity of the Republican party.

At the same time as Lincoln's tour of the Midwest, other events were pulling North and South further apart. John Brown's raid of Harper's Ferry Arsenal sent a wave of fear through the South. In addition,

> "southern critics of slavery found it advisable to leave the region, among them Hinton Helper, whose Impending Crisis of the South contended that slavery hurt the welfare of the non-slaveholder and made the whole region backward".[6]

Finally, continuing controversy in Kansas kept both sides of the Mason-Dixon Line uneasy. These events aided the Republican party's position in the North, as the Democratic party was quickly splitting, and many people saw the Republican party as a common banner under which they could oppose the South.

As 1860 neared, the possibility of Abraham Lincoln as the Republican candidate began to cross his mind more often. His tour of Wisconsin, Iowa, Kansas and Ohio had nurtured his supporters into a large enthusiastic following. In late 1859 Lincoln accepted an invitation to speak at the Cooper Union Institute in New York, seeing it as the break he needed to become a realistic possibility for nomination. "He (had) good reason for wanting to show himself as a political man in the East. It is there that the real powers of the Republican party sit."[7]

On February 27, 1860, Lincoln began a tour of New York and New England. Now he had a basic goal of establishing himself as a possible candidate in the eastern states, especially the large electoral states of New York and Pennsylvania. His tour was extremely successful as he received the support of many anti-William Seward Republicans, as well as mild support from Horace Greeley, an influential journalist with the New York Tribune.

As Lincoln's trip progressed, he began to see his possibilities grow more clearly. Though his supporters were growing in number, William Seward of New York and Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania still held a larger following and the support of the two largest electoral states in the North. Lincoln saw where he stood in the eyes of the public, and

> "as he informed Ohio Representatives, his strategy was to 'give no offense' to delegations already pledged and 'leave them in a mood to come to us, if they shall be compelled to give up their first love.'"[8]

After the New England tour, Abraham Lincoln returned to his Springfield home and let his campaign managers do their work. Though Lincoln's speeches had won many people's support, he had maintained a vague platform to avoid losing any one group's support. During the last months before the Republican convention Lincoln gave his managers one restriction: "'Make no contracts that will bind me' (Lincoln)".[9]

On May 9, 1860, Republicans from across the country met in the Wigwam of Chicago, Illinois, to choose their candidate for President. William Seward looked to be the favorite, with Simon Cameron, Salmon Chase and Edward Bates making up the rest of Lincoln's competition.

Seward "could point to a long record of public service... (and) it was a Republican necessity to 'carry' New York (Seward's home state) with its heavy electoral strength...".[10] Seward also had strong opposition. He lost the support of many conservatives who had misinterpreted quotes from Seward's early political days as radical. The tricky politics of his campaign manager, Thurlow Weed, also caused the formation of a strong anti-Seward faction led by Horace Greeley. Greeley gave his support to Edward Bates from Missouri. Bates, though, had no support from large radical and German factions which seriously hurt his chances for nomination.

Simon Cameron and Salmon Chase rounded out Lincoln's competition, each having a large following as well as a strong opposition. Cameron had home state support in Pennsylvania, but

his victory was not assured even there. Andrew Curtin led a growing anti-Cameron faction and Cameron lacked German support. Finally, there was Salmon Chase of Ohio. He did not have complete control of his own state with a faction led by Benjamin Wade opposing him. In addition his support of immigrant rights lost the support of "Know-Nothings," a large faction supporting American-born citizens.

Finally, there was Abraham Lincoln, himself.

> (He) had the conservatism which certain other candidates did not have, at least in reputation; to this he added an element not too common among conservatives-- the vitalizing talent of arousing enthusiasm. Middle-of-the-road men could support him, but so also could ardent zealots (radicals).[11]

He was acceptable to both east and west, and he looked like a good compromise for groups whose first choice had failed. By not taking a definite stand on immigrant rights, he had won support from Germans and "Know-Nothings" alike. Finally, Lincoln had the advantage of the convention being in his own state of Illinois.

As the voting began, William Seward still looked like the favorite, but many people began to anticipate Lincoln's nomination. "Lincoln's theory (was that) if Seward did not get it (nomination) on the first ballot-- 'or come very close'-- the New Yorker would fail."[12] To the joy of Abraham Lincoln, William Seward got only 173 1/2 votes on the first ballot— sixty shy of the nomination. Lincoln was second with 102, while Cameron, Chase and Bates received approximately 50 votes each. As the second vote began, Cameron's name was stricken from the

list and, sure enough, it appeared Lincoln had been right. The second ballot stood at Seward with 184 1/2 and Lincoln with 181. On the third ballot Lincoln received 231 1/2 votes-- 1 1/2 shy of nomination-- when it was announced that four votes had changed from Salmon Chase to Abraham Lincoln.

While the Republicans had united behind Lincoln in Chicago, the Democrats' fortunes had not run so well in Charleston, South Carolina. The Democratic party had finally split under the pressures of North and South. Stephen Douglas had been the favorite, but the Freeport Doctrine had lost him much support from the South, and he could not win the two-thirds vote necessary for nomination. When North and South came to a stand-off, a large group of Radical southerners left the Democratic convention.

To attempt to avoid a split, the convention was recessed for one month until they would meet in Baltimore, Maryland. Here things went much the same way with the radical "Yancyites," names for their leader, leaving to form their own convention. With the radical southerners gone, Douglas received the necessary two-thirds votes. At the same time, though, John C. Breckinridge was nominated by the Southern "Yancyites," marking a definite split in the Democratic party.

With the split in the Democratic party, the Republicans' chances were growing. It was obvious Breckinridge would carry the South with a platform based on the extension of slavery and state's rights, but the large electoral states were in the North. Here there was competition between Douglas and Lincoln.

Douglas backed preservation of the Union but ran into trouble by supporting the Dred Scott decision which Lincoln had attacked in the Senate debates two years earlier. Lincoln stood behind two things whole-heartedly: preservation of the Union and no extension of slavery. His anti-extension policy made him the strong favorite of the abolitionists, while his support of a high tariff and Homestead Act won businessmen and westerners' support. Finally, "a fourth party... upheld the principles of the Union, the Constitution. This Constitutional Union party... nominated John Bell of Tennessee."[13]

In the final months before the election, Lincoln stayed at home, and

> "would make alliances with nobody, favor nobody, make deals with nobody. To win the election, he said, he needed the help of the entire party-- Easterners and Westerners, liberals and conservatives, former whigs and former democrats."[14]

In September and October, Maine, Vermont, Pennsylvania, and Indiana voted Republican in state elections. Douglas saw now that Lincoln would win in the North,

> "but feared that... Breckinridge might carry the South, including... Maryland and Virginia... He (Douglas) spoke all over the border states, less to carry them himself than to make it possible for Bell... to do so."[15]

This lost vital votes for Breckinridge, which strengthened Lincoln. This was Douglas' goal, as he saw Lincoln as the only man who could save the nation.

By late October 1860, the outcome of the election already seemed certain, with more states voting Republican in state elections. Lincoln's victory seemed assured, but this became all too obvious to the Southerners also, and they began to threaten secession if he was elected.

While the danger of the Southerner's threats had been obvious to Stephen Douglas, the Republicans took little action to put the South's fear at ease and prevent the destruction of the Union. Many Republicans could not see the South's reasoning to fear their party. Those who did understand the fear were too caught up in the election, or believed the South was bluffing--just as it had done for the past thirty years. While Stephen Douglas toured the South, attempting one last time to save the Union, the Republican party stood by and watched as it appeared its first victory would come at the expense of the Union and result in war.

It was on November 6, 1860, that the citizens of the United States participated in what may have been the most important election in United States history. Though all eyes looked toward Lincoln as the next President, New York-- whose electoral votes made its victory vital-- was still uncommitted. It was just after midnight, on the morning of November 7, 1860, that word came of victory in New York; Abraham Lincoln would be the sixteenth man to hold the office of President of the United States.

In six years the Republican party had risen from a small alliance of differing factions to the party in power in Washington, D.C. In two years Abraham Lincoln had risen from a virtually unknown lawyer in Springfield, Illinois to President of the United States. It seemed only right that these two share in the glory of victory. But the fight had only begun. Within two months South Carolina would be the first Southern state to secede from the Union, and in six months the United States would be "engaged in a great Civil War, testing whether this nation... can long endure."[16] Lincoln had shown wisdom and foresight in his two years' rise to glory. Stirring speeches, carefully chosen words and the ability to win favor of opposing factions had shown Lincoln's ability as a politician; the Civil War would test his ability as a leader.

Endnotes

1. Olivia Coolidge, The Apprenticeship of Abraham Lincoln. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1974), p. 154.

2. Coolidge, p. 168.

3. J.G. Randall, Lincoln the President. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1945), p. 129.

4. Coolidge, p. 165.

5. Randall, p. 129.

6. Richard Current, et. al., American History: A Survey. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf Publishers, 1983), p. 387.

7. Herbert Mitgang, The Fiery Trail. (New York: The Viking Press, 1974), p. 50.

8. Stephen Oates, With Malice Toward None: The Life of Abraham Lincoln. (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, Inc., 1977), p. 175.

9. Mitgang, pp.65-66.

10. Randall, p.145.

11. Randall, pp.151-152.

12. Mitgang, p. 67.

13. James A. Rawley, The Politics of Union. (Hinsdale, Illinois: The Dryden Press, 1974), p. 8.

14. Oates, p. 183.

15. Coolidge, p. 221.

16. James A. Miller, Jr., et.al., "The Gettysburg Address by Abraham Lincoln," United States in Literature. (Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foresman and Co.), p. 398.

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LINCOLN'S ROAD TO THE PRESIDENCY: 1858 TO 1860

by

Elisabeth Smietana

Elisabeth Smietana was a student at Paul Harding High School in Fort Wayne, Indiana, when she submitted this winning paper. Her teacher was Mr. Wilson.

In the senatorial election year of 1858, Abraham Lincoln spoke these famous words:

> "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved - I do not expect the house to fall - but I do expect that it will cease to be divided..."[1]

With this speech Lincoln took his stand on slavery once and for all. He was clearly against it.

Increasingly, in the 1850s, slavery had become an issue for hot and bitter debate across the country. The plantation South insisted on preserving this institution, while the industrial North was determined to either abolish slavery, or at least contain it.

It is not surprising , therefore, that the main issue in the 1860 Presidential election was slavery. Abraham Lincoln was the candidate on the Republican ticket that year, although he had held political office only once before. His main opponent was Stephen A. Douglas, a Northern Democrat who had championed the concept of popular sovereignty. It was not the first political meeting for the two men. They had previously faced off in the race for the Illinois Senate sear in 1858. And indeed, 1858 was the true beginning of Lincoln's road to the Presidency.

In 1858, the Republicans of Illinois united behind Lincoln and he became their candidate to oppose Douglas. Before that, however, Douglas himself had almost become the Republican nominee.

Douglas was a moderate in his party. In 1857, he had begun the split of the Democratic Party when he opposed President Buchanan, also a Democrat, over the Lecompton Constitution in Kansas. The Constitution included a clause which would allow the people of Kansas to vote on whether they wanted slavery to be legalized in their state or not. However, provisions in the Lecompton Constitution would permit slavery in Kansas whether the people voted it up or down. Thus, the people had no real word on the issue of slavery. It would be preserved in Kansas come what may.[2] This was not true popular sovereignty and, therefore, Douglas opposed it. This enraged Buchanan, who then set up a group of Democrats loyal to himself in Illinois for the sole purpose of opposing Douglas. With his singular action of opposing the President, Douglas won the respect of many Republicans, thus almost becoming the nominee of the Republicans for the Senate.[3]

Lincoln, on the other hand, completely opposed Douglas. He felt that popular sovereignty was weak and took no real stand on the issue of slavery. But Lincoln was not a radical abolitionist either, although some Southern Democrats tried to accuse him of being one. Lincoln was a moderate in the Republican Party, just as Douglas was in the Democratic Party. Lincoln believed slavery was wrong and made no secret of it. He wanted slavery restricted

to "the States in which it already exists" and he wanted a gradual end to slavery. So gradual, in fact, that he once said he did not expect to live to see the day when slavery would be dissolved.[5] The only pronounced difference in Lincoln's and Douglas's political platform was that Douglas "did not care whether slavery was voted up or down" while Lincoln was quite concerned with the fact that slavery must cease to exist if the United States was to continue to exist.[6]

During the summer of 1858, Lincoln challenged Douglas to a series of debates that would take place in towns and cities across Illinois. Douglas accepted the challenge and the two men agreed to seven debates.[7]

From the beginning of the Great Debates and throughout the campaign, Douglas accused Lincoln of the same things over and over. He insisted that Lincoln wanted equality for blacks and abolition of slavery. This simply was not true, and Lincoln felt compelled to defend himself time after time.[8] This took away from the effectiveness of his own speeches many times, but he defended himself quite admirably.

The Lincoln-Douglas Debates were significant and helpful to Lincoln's career for one major reason: they gave him the publicity he needed across the country. Before the Debates, few people knew who Lincoln was. Douglas was well-known because of his Senate terms and his active and sometimes controversial political career. After the Debates, however, Eastern Republicans were asking about Lincoln.[9] Lincoln was not elected

to the Senate in 1859, but the Debates had left their impression - and it was a favorable one for him.

During the course of 1859, Lincoln gained momentum both as a Republican and as a politician. People liked his simple speaking style and his honest disposition. Some Illinois newspapers had even begun suggesting him for the Presidency, and his chances for nomination by the Republicans grew. Ironically, Lincoln did not sincerely wish to be President. His one goal at the time was to be elected to the United States Senate and to defeat Douglas in the process. Admittedly, Lincoln did not shun the idea of his being President, but he did not enjoy the prospect of the many "mundane chores" of the Presidency.[10]

On April 16, 1859, Lincoln wrote a letter to T.J. Pickett, the editor of an Illinois newspaper. Pickett wanted to announce Lincoln as a candidate for President in his newspaper, but Lincoln wrote, "... I must, in candor say, I do not think myself fit for the Presidency."[11] In actuality, Lincoln did not think he had a chance against Seward and Chase.

Lincoln had had a profound interest in politics all of his adult life. When he became a member of the Republican party, he embraced its ideals and worked hard as a party member. After his defeat at the hands of Douglas in 1859. he went back to Springfield to rebuild his law practice. This, however, no longer satisfied him. In 1859, he made the decision to build and strengthen the Republican party in Illinois. He settled disputes between party members, wrote letters to Republicans around the country, and made speeches, unifying the party.

Lincoln had an excellent political perception. One example of it came in June, 1859. Lincoln wrote a letter to Salmon Chase regarding the recent Republican state convention of Ohio. At that convention the state delegates had adopted a platform which included a plank stating that there must be a repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law. Lincoln warned that the issue might well tear the party apart, with one group supporting the repeal and another group opposing it.[12] It is important to remember that the Republican party was relatively new; any major divisions within the party could easily destroy it.

Lincoln also had opinions concerning Douglas, and these were anything but favorable. In fact, on April 30, 1859, Lincoln wrote to Salmon P. Chase that, "If the Republicans had taken Douglas, the Republican cause in Illinois would have been annihilated, and, as I think, demoralized and prostrated every where for years, if not forever."[13]

Lincoln held Douglas, and especially his concept of popular sovereignty, in contempt. He did not hate Douglas, but he simply felt that popular sovereignty

> "... was likely, so to say, to take upon their blind side, men who were sympathetic to the impatience of control of any crowd resembling themselves, but not sympathetic to humanity of another race and colour."[14]

Simply stated, popular sovereignty made itself look good because it appealed to whites, but it was not sympathetic to, and did not help, the Negro.

In 1859, Lincoln felt that Douglas was "the most dangerous enemy of liberty, because the most insidious one."[15] Lincoln stressed to his fellow Republicans that it was important to defeat Douglas in the North. This was important for two reasons: 1) The Republicans controlled the North, and obviously had a few supporters in the South. 2) Douglas had split his party into Southern and Northern sections. The South would not support him so his only alternative was to turn to the North for votes.

When Douglas realized he was in a losing situation, he went to almost desperate measures. In the September 1859 issue of Harper's Magazine, Douglas stated that "... the Founding Fathers had established popular sovereignty - or Congressional nonintervention - as the standard formula for dealing with slavery in the territories." He completely deviated from his Freeport Doctrine (the principle of unfriendly legislation) and said, in effect, that slaveowners in the territories could control slaves just as they could any other property. To Lincoln, this was an obvious concession to the proslavery South on Douglas' part.[16]

Lincoln's view about the Founding Fathers, on the other hand, was that they made only as many concessions to slavery as were absolutely necessary for union and peace among the states. They had the right intentions but were not able to take the power of making slavery legal or illegal away from the individual states at that time. He said that the Fathers had placed slavery in such a position that it would eventually fall into extinction.

He added that now was the time to put slavery back into that perspective, not let it grow out of control.[17]

It is clear that Lincoln opposed slavery but that is not to say that he wanted to elevate the Negroes to equality. Indeed, he felt that that race was inferior. He favored the recolonization of slaves in Africa or a gradual emancipation with education.[18] This is why he was not an abolitionist. Abolitionists believed that the slaves should be set free immediately and likewise be treated equally. It is important to note that abolitionists readily agreed with Lincoln when he insisted that he was not one of them.

During his term as President, Lincoln put all of his efforts into preserving the Union. This was not the case, however, in the years before his Presidency. For Lincoln, he could only have faith in a government as long as it had certain moral principles. "He refused to preserve the Union by what, in his estimation, would have been the real surrender of the principles which had made Americans a distinct and self-respecting nation."[19] By this he meant that the United States had to recognize that slavery was wrong and do all in its power to contain the institution in the South.

One point in which Lincoln differed from many Republicans was his view on the Fugitive Slave Law. Oddly enough, Lincoln advocated it and was against its repeal. Why was he for it? For the simple reason that the Constitution required it. He went so

far as to say that

> "The Republican Party must stand with the Abolitionists... in blocking the spread of slavery, but it must stand against... in upholding the Constitution and the Fugitive Slave Law."[20]

These were Lincoln's views prior to the election of 1860, and in great part, they reflected the Republican platform. Admittedly, there were groups within the party whose opinions differed from the main platform, but when Lincoln was nominated, he became the symbol of the Republicans and his views were considered Republican views. Just how Lincoln acquired the Republican nomination for President is an interesting account.

In January, 1860, several of Lincoln's friends presented him with the idea of nominating him as the Republican candidate for President. Lincoln was doubtful. After all, Seward was the leader of the Republicans and was all but assured of the party's nomination. Nonetheless, Lincoln gave his consent to the campaign, and so it went forward. It also brought mixed responses from his friends. Some supported him while others frankly stated that they did not feel he had a chance to win.[21]

By April, 1860, Seward had acquired delegations across the West, while Lincoln had a few delegates from Illinois only, and Douglas had not gained the Democratic nomination in Charleston, South Carolina.[22]

In May, Illinois officially nominated Lincoln as its state delegate to the national convention. Judge David Davis became Lincoln's manager. He was a shrewd man who worked tirelessly and gained delegates from key states, such as Pennsylvania and Ohio for Lincoln.[23]

Going into the national convention, Lincoln's supporters, as well as his adversaries, knew that he was a serious dark-horse candidate and that his main strength lay in his opponents' weaknesses. Seward did indeed seem headed for the Presidency; with the Democrats divided and squabbling amongst themselves, and he with the most delegates of any Republican contender, it was almost inevitable.[24] Seward would have been elected at the convention, except for two factors that went against him at just the right time.

It so happened that on the night the voting was to take place the printer of the papers necessary for keeping the tally was late in delivering them. While the Convention waited, the delegates became impatient. In addition, the hall was hot and filled with mosquitos. Someone motioned to adjourn until the next morning and it was unanimously accepted. This done, the editor of the New York Tribune, Horace Greeley, went to work.

For fourteen years, Greeley had worked and fought for Seward to help him get elected as Governor of New York and U.S. Senator. He had worked just as hard for Seward's manager, Thurlow Weed. Greeley had hoped that, in return, he would be made state printer. When Weed took that position, Greeley hoped for the governorship or lieutenant-governorship, but it was not to be. Weed and Seward flatly refused to give Greeley any office. He was furious. And so, on that fateful night, Greeley saw his chance for revenge. He worked the whole night through going from

delegation to delegation, not necessarily campaigning for Lincoln but denouncing Seward, accusing him of being a radical and claiming that Seward's nomination meant certain disaster for the Republicans.[25]

The next morning Lincoln's supporters added their campaign to Greeley's, stressing Lincoln's humble background and his excellent position in the border states. In the end Lincoln received the Republican Presidential nomination and Horace Greeley had his revenge.[26]

The Republican platform of 1860 was a reiteration of the values the Republican party stood for. Even though there were certain factions within the party, key issues brought them all in agreement: the entire party opposed the Dred Scott decision, popular sovereignty, and slavery. They opposed any attempt at reopening the international slave trade and warned the South that threats of secession were "contemplated treason." While the slavery issue was the main plank in the platform, it was not the only one. The Republicans also supported homestead legislation, a transcontinental railroad, and a tariff for protection. Lincoln stated that he would support a tariff, but he would not force one.[27]

In June of 1860, the Democratic party held their second convention in Baltimore, Maryland. Northern Democrats endorsed and nominated Stephen Douglas. The Southern Democrats split from the rest of the party and nominated John C. Breckinridge.[28]

By midsummer, there were five candidates running for President. After the Democratic split, however, Lincoln was almost assured of victory. Douglas knew this all too well and went to desperate measures once again to try to save his faltering campaign. He announced to the South that he was no longer running for President (although officially, he still was): he only wanted to preserve the Union and keep the South from seceding.[29]

And so the summer of 1860 passed with Lincoln's supporters campaigning steadily. Lincoln's image became that of "the railsplitter" because of his early years of rail-splitting for fence-making. It was a good image for him to have because it identified him with the common, everyday American. It made him look as though he were the people's candidate and, indeed, he was, but only in the North.[30]

The Democrats campaigned hard over the summer, but it was no use. On November 6, 1860, the Presidential election took place. Lincoln carried the North in a sweeping Republican victory. The South, as expected, barely noted Lincoln on the ballots. This had little effect, however, because the North had used its larger population to outvote the South for the first time ever. Republicans rejoiced. Their young party had won its first Presidential election.

Thus, as the year 1860 drew to a close, a new President had been elected - a dark-horse candidate from Illinois named Abraham Lincoln. Hated by some, but loved by many, he had stood by beliefs that slavery was wrong and should be contained in the South, and he had stayed true to the Republican cause. Although he had failed in many political ventures in his life, he had triumphed in the greatest one of them all.

ENDNOTES

[1]Lord Charnwood, Abraham Lincoln. (New York: Garden City Publishing Co., Inc., 1938), p. 146.

[2]Charnwood, p. 140.

[3]Charnwood, p. 141.

[4]Stephen B. Oates, With Malice Toward None - The Life of Abraham Lincoln. (New York: Harper and Row, 1977), p. 157.

[5]Oates, p. 149.

[6]Oates, p. 149.

[7]Oates, p. 151.

[8]Oates, p. 153.

[9]Oates, p. 161.

[10]Oates, pp. 161 & 162.

[11]Roy P. Basler, Abraham Lincoln - His Speeches and Writings. (Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Company, 1946), p. 490.

[12]Basler, p. 491.

[13]Blaine Brooks Gernon, Lincoln in the Political Circus. (Chicago: The Black Cat Press, 1936), p. 157.

[14]Charnwood, p. 130.

[15]Oates, p. 163.

[16]Oates, p. 164.

[17]Charnwood, p. 125.

[18]Charnwood, p. 124.

[19]Charnwood, p. 123.

[20]Oates, p. 123.

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[21]Oates, p. 170.

[22]Oates, p. 175.

[23]Oates, p. 176.

[24]Paul M. Angle, The Lincoln Reader. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1947), p. 255.

[25]Dale Carnegie, Lincoln - The Unknown. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1941), pp. 122 & 123.

[26]Carnegie, pp. 124 & 125.

[27]Oates, p. 180.

[28]Oates, p. 184.

[29]Oates, p. 184.

[30]Oates, p. 176.

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